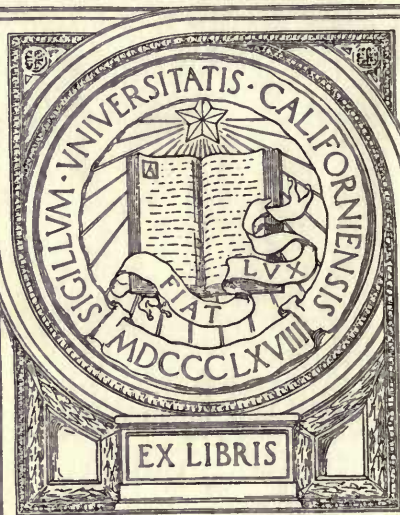




fornia
nal
ty

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



EX LIBRIS

A N

A C C O U N T

O F T H E

C O N D U C T

O F T H E

Dowager Duchefs of MARLBOROUGH,

From her first coming to COURT,

To the Year 1710.

In a LETTER from Herself to MY LORD —

L O N D O N:

Printed by JAMES BETTENHAM,

For GEORGE HAWKINS, at *Milton's Head*,
between the two *Temple-Gates*.

MDCCXLII.

134079

2742

51

A C C O U N T

OF THE

C O N D U C T

OF THE

Dangerous Duties of MARLBOROUGH,

From her first coming to Court,

To the Year 1710.

By the Hon. Sir John Mordaunt, Bart.

Author of the History of the

House of Commons, &c.

L O N D O N

Printed by James Baskin,

For George Hawkins, at the Sign of the

between the two Temples.

MDCCLXII.

A

LETTER &c.

MY LORD,

I HAVE been often told, that there is a sort of philosophy, by which people have brought themselves to be indifferent, not only whether they be at all remembered after death, but whether in case their names should survive them, they be mentioned with praise or infamy. If this be really a point of wisdom, it is infinitely beyond my reach; and I shall own further, that it seems to me too refined and sublime to be attained by any body, who has not first got rid of the prejudices of common sense and common honesty. I will not pretend to say, that the passion for fame may not sometimes be excessive, and deservedly the subject of ridicule. But surely, MY LORD,

there never was a single instance of a person of true honour, who was willing to be spoken of, either during life or after it, as a betrayer of his country or his friend. And I am persuaded YOUR LORDSHIP must have observed, that all those who, at this day, declare themselves wholly careless about what the world, or the circle of their acquaintance will say of them, when they are dead, are quite as unconcerned to *deserve* a good character, while they live.

For my own part, I frankly confess to YOUR LORDSHIP and to the world, that whatever vanity or weakness the ambition of a good name may be thought, either by philosophers or by ministers of state, to imply, I have ever felt some degree of that ambition, from the moment I could distinguish between good and evil. My chief aim (if I have any acquaintance with my own heart) has been both in publick and private life, to *deserve* approbation; but I have never been without an earnest desire to *have* it too, both living and dead, from the wise and virtuous.

MY LORD, this passion has led me to take more pains, than you would easily imagine. It has sometimes carried me beyond the sphere, to which the men have thought proper, and perhaps, generally speaking, with good reason, to confine our sex. I have been a kind of author. About forty years ago, having understood that the wife of the late bishop BURNET, a lady whom I greatly esteemed, had received unfavourable impressions of me, on account of the unhappy differences between QUEEN MARY and her sister, I wrote a faithful narrative of that affair, purely to satisfy that one person.

And when, after my dismissal from QUEEN ANNE's service, I perceived how industriously malice was employed, in inventing calumnies to load me with, I drew up an account of my conduct in the several offices I had filled under HER MAJESTY. This piece I intended to publish immediately, but was dissuaded from it by a person (of great eminence at this day) whom I thought my friend. I have since imagined, that he

had by instinct an aversion to *accounting*. It was said, as a reason for deferring the publication of *my* account, that prejudice and passion were grown too violent and stormy for the voice of reason to be heard, but that those would, after some time, subside; and that the truth, *then* brought to light, would unavoidably prevail. I followed the advice with the less reluctance, as being sure of the power of an easy vindication whenever my patience should be push'd to extremity.

After this I set myself another task, to which I was partly urged by the injustice, and, I may say, ingratitude of the whigs. It was to give an account of my conduct with regard to parties, and of the successful artifice of MR. HARLEY and MRS. MASHAM, in taking advantage of the QUEEN's passion for what she called *the Church*, to undermine me in her affections. In this undertaking I had the assistance of a friend, to whom I furnished materials. Some parts of the work were of my own composition, being such passages as no body but myself could

could relate with exactness. This was not originally intended to be published till after my death.

But, MY LORD, as I am now drawing near my end, and very soon there will remain nothing of me, but a *name*, I am grown desirous, under the little capacity which age and infirmities have left me for other enjoyments, to have the satisfaction, before I die, of seeing that *name*, (which from the station I have held in the great world, must unavoidably survive me) in *possession* of what was only designed it for a *legacy*. From this desire I have caused the several pieces above-mentioned to be connected together, and thrown into the form, in which I now take the liberty to address them to YOUR LORDSHIP. They may possibly be of some use towards correcting the folly and injustice of those, who, in order to judge of the conduct of others, begin with forming to themselves characters of them, upon slight and idle reports, and then make such characters the rule, by which they admit or reject whatever they afterwards hear

concerning them. If any such happy effect as this might reasonably be hoped from the perusal of these papers, I should be far from making any apology for offering them to YOUR LORDSHIP: I would not call it, *troubling* YOUR LORDSHIP with them. No, MY LORD, you will not esteem it a *trouble*, to read them, even though you should judge them useless for the purpose I have mentioned. The friendship you favour me with, will make you find a particular satisfaction in this justification of my injured character to the world. And I imagine, that there is no honest mind, how much soever it may chance to be prejudiced against me, but will feel something of the same pleasure, in being undeceived.

The original letters, of which, either in whole or in part, the copies will be here found, I have directed to be preserved in my family, as incontestable vouchers of the truth of what I am going to relate.

THE first time that *my favour with the* PRINCESS ANNE OF DENMARK became an object of public attention, was upon the quarrel between her sister QUEEN MARY, and her, which happen'd a few years after the Revolution. Here therefore YOUR LORDSHIP might naturally expect that I should begin my relation: But as I have been blamed for some memorable parts of the PRINCESS's conduct before that quarrel, it will be necessary to my present purpose to go back a little farther; and, perhaps, it may not be improper to say something even of the birth and first growth of *that favour*, which has given occasion to all the calumnies with which I have been aspersed.

The beginning of the PRINCESS's kindness for me had a much earlier date than my entrance into her service. My promotion to this honour was wholly owing to impressions she had before received to my advantage; we had used to play together when she was a child, and she even then expressed a particular fondness for me. This inclination

clination encreased with our years. I was often at court, and the PRINCESS always distinguished me by the pleasure she took to honour me, preferably to others, with her conversation and confidence. In all her parties for amusement, I was sure, by her choice, to be one; and so desirous she became of having me always near her, that, upon her marriage with the PRINCE OF DENMARK in 1683, it was, at her own earnest request to her father, I was made one of the ladies of her bed-chamber.

What conduced to render me the more agreeable to her in this station was, doubtless, the dislike she had conceived to most of the other persons about her; and particularly to her first lady of the bed-chamber, the COUNTESS OF CLARENDON; a lady whose discourse and manner (though the PRINCESS thought they agreed very well together) could not possibly recommend her to so young a mistress: For she looked like a mad-woman, and talked like a scholar. Indeed HER HIGHNESS's court was throughout so oddly composed, that I think it
would

would be making myself no great compliment, if I should say, her chusing to spend more of her time with me, than with any of her other servants, did no discredit to her taste. Be that as it will, it is certain she at length distinguished me by so high a place in her favour, as perhaps no person ever arrived at a higher with queen or princess. And, if from hence I may draw any glory, it is, that I both obtained and held this place without the assistance of flattery; a charm, which in truth her inclination for me, together with my unwearied application to serve and amuse her, rendered needless; but which, had it been otherwise, my temper and turn of mind would never have suffered me to employ.

[Young as I was, when I first became this high favourite, I laid it down for a maxim, that flattery was falshood to my trust, and ingratitude to my greatest friend; and that I did not deserve so much favour, if I could not venture the loss of it by speaking the truth, and by preferring the real interest of my mistress before the pleasing her fancy, or
the

✓ the sacrificing to her passion. From this rule I never swerved. And though my temper and my notions in most things were widely different from those of the PRINCESS, yet during a long course of years, she was so far from being displeased with me for openly speaking my sentiments, that she sometimes professed a desire, and even added her command, that it should be always continued, promising never to be offended at it, but to love me the better for my frankness.

Favour with a princess upon these terms engaged me to her in the manner that it ought; I mean, by a sentiment which I chuse to call *honour*, rather than *gratitude* or *duty*, because while it implies all the justice and affection of these, it seems to express a more disinterested principle of action. For I can truly affirm, that I never considered myself on any occasion where her interest or glory was concerned, nor had I any idea of a misery which I would not have sooner incurred, than the inward shame of being conscious of a failure in this respect. The facts themselves, which I am going to relate,

relate, will in a great degree evince the truth of what I say; and that the PRINCESS was perfectly persuaded of it, is, I think, sufficiently manifest both from her letters to me, and from that unreserved intimacy of friendship, in which we for many years lived together.

Kings and princes, for the most part, imagine they have a dignity peculiar to their birth and station, which ought to raise them above all connexion of friendship with an inferior. Their passion is to be admired and feared, to have subjects awfully obedient, and servants blindly obsequious to their pleasure. Friendship is an offensive word; it imports a kind of equality between the parties; it suggests nothing to the mind of crowns or thrones, high titles, or immense revenues, fountains of honour, or fountains of riches, prerogatives which the possessors would have always uppermost in the thoughts of those who are permitted to approach them.

The PRINCESS had a different taste. A friend was what she most coveted: and for
the

the sake of friendship (a relation which she did not disdain to have with me) she was fond even of that *equality* which she thought belonged to it. She grew uneasy to be treated by me with the form and ceremony due to her rank; nor could she bear from me the sound of words which implied in them distance and superiority. It was this turn of mind, which made her one day propose to me, that whenever I should happen to be absent from her, we might in all our letters write ourselves by feigned names, such as would import nothing of distinction of rank between us. MORLEY and FREEMAN were the names her fancy hit upon; and she left me to chuse by which of them I would be called. My frank, open temper naturally led me to pitch upon FREEMAN, and so the PRINCESS took the other; and from this time MRS. MORLEY and MRS. FREEMAN began to converse as equals, made so by affection and friendship.

Soon after the decease of KING CHARLES the second, LORD CLARENDON was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to which country
his

his lady was to go with him. The PRINCESS received a sensible joy from this event ; not only as it released her from a person very disagreeable to her, but as it gave her an opportunity of promoting me to be first lady of her bed-chamber ; which she immediately did, with a satisfaction to herself that was not to be concealed.

During her father's whole reign she kept her court as private as she could, consistent with her station. What were the designs of that unhappy PRINCE every body knows. They came soon to shew themselves undisguised, and attempts were made to draw his daughter into them. The KING indeed used no harshness with her ; he only discovered his wishes, by putting into her hands some books and papers, which he hoped might induce her to a change of religion ; and had she had any inclination that way, the chaplains about her were such divines as could have said but little in defence of their own religion, or to secure her against the pretences of popery, recommended to her by a father and a king.

LORD TYRCONNEL also, who had married my sister, took some pains with me, to engage me, if possible, to make use, for the same end, of that great favour which he knew I enjoyed with the PRINCESS: but all his endeavours proved vain; and it was not long before all the danger blew over, the projects of that reign being effectually disappointed, almost as soon as they were openly avowed.

Upon the landing of the PRINCE of ORANGE in 1688, the KING went down to Salisbury to his army, and the PRINCE of DENMARK with him; but the news quickly came from thence, that the PRINCE of DENMARK had left the KING, and was gone over to the PRINCE of ORANGE, and that the KING was coming back to London. This put the PRINCESS into a great fright. She sent for me, told me her distress, and declared, *That rather than see her father she would jump out at window.* This was her very expression.

A little before, a note had been left with me, to inform me where I might find the bishop of LONDON, (who in that critical time absconded)

absconded) if HER ROYAL HIGHNESS should have occasion for a friend. The PRINCESS, on this alarm, immediately sent me to the bishop. I acquainted him with her resolution to leave the court, and to put herself under his care. It was hereupon agreed, that, when he had advised with his friends in the city, he should come about midnight in a hackney coach to the neighbourhood of the Cockpit, in order to convey the PRINCESS to some place where she might be private and safe.

The PRINCESS went to bed at the usual time to prevent suspicion. I came to her soon after; and by the back-stairs which went down from her closet, HER ROYAL HIGHNESS, MY LADY FITZHARDING, and I, with one servant, walked to the coach, where we found the bishop and the EARL OF DORSET. They conducted us that night to the bishop's house in the city, and the next day to MY LORD DORSET's at Copt-hall. From thence we went to the EARL OF NORTHAMPTON's and from thence to Nottingham, where the country gathered about the PRINCESS; nor

B

did

did she think herself safe, till she saw that she was surrounded by the PRINCE OF ORANGE's friends.

The most remarkable thing that happened to the PRINCESS during her stay at this place, was a letter she received from LORD CLARENDON. It was full of compliments, and at the same time full of complaints, that she had not told him of a thing he liked so well, that he might have had a share in it. How well these *complaints and the earnestness he shewed* (in a consultation held at Windsor, before the PRINCE OF ORANGE came to London) *to have KING JAMES sent to the Tower*, agreed with his conduct afterwards, I shall leave to the world to judge.

As this flight of the PRINCESS to Nottingham has by some been ignorantly, not to say, maliciously, imputed to my policy and premeditated contrivance, I thought it necessary to give this short, but exact relation of it. It was a thing sudden and unconcerted; nor had I any share in it, farther than obeying my mistress's orders in the particulars I have mentioned; though indeed

deed I had reason enough on my own account, to get out of the way, LORD CHURCHILL having likewise at that time left the KING, and gone over to the other party.

Quickly after this, the KING fled into France. The throne was hereupon declared vacant, and presently filled with the PRINCE and PRINCESS OF ORANGE. The parliament thought proper to settle the crown on KING WILLIAM for life, and the PRINCESS OF DENMARK gave her consent to it. This was another event which furnished simple people with a pretence to censure me. It was insinuated, that, to make my court to the KING and QUEEN, I had influenced the PRINCESS to forego her undoubted rights. The truth is, I did persuade her to consent to the project of that settlement, and to be easy under it, after it was made. But no regard to the KING or QUEEN, nor any view of ambition, had the least share in moving me to this conduct, any more than to what inconsiderable part I acted in the business of the Revolution.

As to the latter, it was evident to all the world, that as things were carried on by KING JAMES, every body sooner or later must be ruined, who would not become a Roman catholick. This consideration made me very well pleased at the PRINCE OF ORANGE's undertaking to rescue us from such slavery. But I do solemnly protest, that, if there be truth in any mortal, I was so very simple a creature, that I never once dreamt of his being king. Having never *read*, nor employed my time in any thing but playing at cards; and, having no ambition my self, I imagined that the PRINCE OF ORANGE's sole design was to provide for the safety of his own country, by obliging KING JAMES to keep the laws of ours; and that he would go back as soon as he had made us all happy; that there was no sort of difficulty in the execution of this design, and that to do so much good would be a greater pleasure to him than to be king of any country upon earth. I was soon taught to know the world better. However, as I was perfectly convinced that a Roman catholick is not to

be trusted with the liberties of England, I never once repined at the change of the government, no, not in all the time of that long persecution I went through. I might, perhaps, wish, it had been compass'd by some other man who had more honour and justice than he, who could depose his father-in-law, and uncle, to maintain liberty and laws, and then act the tyrant himself in many instances; but I never once wished that the change had not been made.

And, as to giving KING WILLIAM the crown for life, it was the same principle of regard for the public welfare that carried me to advise the PRINCESS to acquiesce in it. It is true, that when the thing was first started, I did not see any necessity for such a measure; and I thought it so unreasonable, that I took a great deal of pains (which I believe the KING and QUEEN never forgot) to promote my mistress's pretensions. But I quickly found that all endeavours of that kind would be ineffectual; that all the principal men, except the Jacobites, were for the KING, and, that the

settlement would be carried in parliament, whether the PRINCESS consented to it, or not. So that in reality there was nothing advisable but to yield with a good grace.

I confess, had I been in her place, I should have thought it more for my honour to be easy in this matter than to shew an impatience to get possession of a crown that had been wrested from my father. And, as it ought to have been a great trouble to the children of KING JAMES to be forced to act the part they did against him, even for the security of liberty and religion, (which was truly the case) so it seemed to me, that she, who discovered the less ambition, would have the more amiable character. However, as I was fearful about every thing the PRINCESS did, while she was thought to be advised by me, I could not satisfy my own mind, till I had consulted with several persons of undisputed wisdom and integrity, and particularly with the LADY RUSSEL of Southampton-house, and DR. TILLOTSON, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. I found them all unanimous in the opinion of
the

the expediency of the settlement proposed, as things were then situated. In conclusion, therefore, I carried DR. TILLOTSON to the PRINCESS, and, upon what he said to her, she took care that no disturbance should be made by her pretended friends, the Jacobites, who had pressed her earnestly to form an opposition.

This is the true account of my proceeding in that affair ; and, I believe that some events which soon followed it, and which in part occasioned the memorable quarrel between the two sisters, will sufficiently clear me from all suspicion of intending an interested, base courtship to that reign, in violation of the attachment I owed the PRINCESS.

It is certain, and by every body known, that the immediate occasion of the open breach between HER MAJESTY and the PRINCESS OF DENMARK, was the PRINCESS's refusing to obey the QUEEN's command *to remove me from about her person*. But no one, I think, can be so foolish as to imagine that the QUEEN's dislike of me was only on ac-

count of my being the wife of LORD MARLBOROUGH, who happened then to be in disgrace with the KING; or that HER MAJESTY would have insisted on a demand so painful to her sister, had they till then lived together in the harmony, which should naturally be preserved between sisters, especially when embarked in one common cause against a father in defence of religion.

To clear up this matter then, and to discover the true sources of that famous quarrel, it will be necessary to recur to some preceding events which unfortunately led the way to it.

On the arrival of QUEEN MARY in England, the PRINCESS OF DENMARK went to meet her, and there was great appearance of kindness between them. But this quickly wore off, and a visible coldness ensued; which I believe was partly occasioned by the persuasion the KING had, that the PRINCE and PRINCESS had been of more use to him, than they were ever like to be again, and partly by the different characters, and humours of the two sisters. It was indeed impossible

impossible they should be very agreeable companions to each other; because QUEEN MARY grew weary of any body who would not talk a great deal; and the PRINCESS was so silent that she rarely spoke more than was necessary to answer a question. But this was not all. In the very beginning of that reign there happened some events, which, as they discovered an uncommon disregard in the QUEEN for her sister, must naturally produce an answerable discontent in the PRINCESS. And here I cannot forbear saying, that whatever good qualities QUEEN MARY had to make her popular, it is too evident by many instances *that she wanted bowels.*

Of this she seemed to me to give an unquestionable proof the first day she came to Whitehall. I was one of those who had the honour to wait on her to her own apartment. She ran about it, looking into every closet and conveniency, and turning up the quilts upon the bed, as people do when they come into an inn, and with no other sort of concern in her appearance, but
such

such as they express; a behaviour, which, though at that time I was extremely caressed by her, I thought very strange and unbecoming. For, whatever necessity there was of deposing KING JAMES, he was still her father, who had been so lately driven from that chamber, and that bed; and, if she felt no tenderness, I thought she should at least have looked grave, or even pensively sad, at so melancholy a reverse of his fortune. But I kept these thoughts in my own breast, not imparting them even to my mistress, to whom I could say any thing with all the freedom imaginable. And it was impossible for any body to labour more than I did to keep the two sisters in perfect union and friendship; thinking it best for them both not to quarrel when their true interest and safety were jointly concerned to support the Revolution. But how impracticable the preservation of this union was rendered by the QUEEN herself will sufficiently appear by what I am now going to relate.

The PRINCESS, soon after the KING's coming to Whitehall, had a mind to leave her lodgings (the way from which to the QUEEN's apartment was very inconvenient) and to go to those that had been the DUCHESS OF PORTSMOUTH's, which the KING on her request told her she should have. But the PRINCESS requesting also (for the conveniency of her servants) some other lodgings that lay nearest to those of the DUCHESS, this matter met with difficulty; though HER HIGHNESS in exchange for what she asked was to give the whole Cockpit (which was more than an equivalent) to be disposed of for the KING's use. For the DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE took into his head, that, could he have the DUCHESS OF PORTSMOUTH's lodgings, where there was a fine room for *balls*, it would give him a very magnificent air. And it was very plain, that, while this matter was in debate, between the KING, and QUEEN, and PRINCESS, MY LORD DEVONSHIRE's chief business was, to raise so many difficulties in making the PRINCESS easy in those lodgings,

ings, as at last to gain his point. After many conversations upon the affair, the QUEEN told the PRINCESS, *That she could not let her have the lodgings she desired for her servants, till MY LORD DEVONSHIRE had resolved whether he would have them, or a part of the Cockpit* : Upon which the PRINCESS answered, *She would then stay where she was, for she would not have MY LORD DEVONSHIRE's leavings.* So she took the DUCHESS OF PORTSMOUTH's apartment, granted her at first, and used it for her children, remaining herself at the Cockpit.

Much about the same time the PRINCESS, who had a fondness for the house at Richmond (where she had lived when a child) and who, besides, thought the air of that place good for the children, desired that house of the QUEEN; but that likewise was refused her, though for many years no use had been made of it, but for madame POSSAIRE, a sister of MY LADY ORKNEY's, and Mr. HILL.

The PRINCESS, notwithstanding these mortifications, continued to pay all imaginable respect to the KING and QUEEN. But this did not hinder HER MAJESTY from expressing a great deal of displeasure, when some steps were made in parliament towards settling a revenue on the PRINCE and PRINCESS. Taking her sister one night to task for it, she asked her, *What was the meaning of those proceedings?* To which the PRINCESS answered, *She heard her friends had a mind to make her some settlement.* The QUEEN hastily replied with a very imperious air, *Pray what friends have you but the KING and ME?* I had not the honour to attend the PRINCESS that night; but when she came back, she repeated this to me. And indeed I never saw her express so much resentment as she did at this usage; and I think it must be allowed she had great reason. For it was unjust in her sister not to allow her a decent provision, without an entire dependance on the KING. And besides, the PRINCESS had in a short time learnt that she must be very miserable, if she

she was to have no support but the friendship of the two persons HER MAJESTY had mentioned.

After this the QUEEN said no more to the PRINCESS on the subject of the settlement, though they met every day; and the affair went on so well in the house of commons, that her friends were encouraged to propose for her a much larger revenue than was at last obtained; to prevent which, by gaining time, the KING prorogued the parliament.

The business however was resumed again at the next meeting; and then all possible endeavours were used, to engage me by flattery and by fear, to dissuade the PRINCESS from the pursuit of a settlement. MY LADY FITZHARDING, who was more than any body in the QUEEN's favour, and for whom it was well known that I had a singular affection, was the person chiefly employed in this undertaking. Sometimes she attacked me on the side of my own interest, telling me, *That if I would not put an end to measures so disagreeable to*
the

the KING and QUEEN, it would certainly be the ruin of my lord, and consequently of all our family. When she found that this had no effect, she endeavoured to alarm my fears for the PRINCESS, by saying, That those measures would in all probability ruin her: for no body, but such as flattered me, believed the PRINCESS would carry her point; and in case she did not, the KING would not think himself obliged to do any thing for her. That it was perfect madness in me to persist, and I had better ten thousand times persuade the PRINCESS to let the thing fall, and so make all easy to the KING and QUEEN.

But all this, and a great deal more that was said, was so far from inclining me to do what was desired of me, that it only made me more anxious about the success of the PRINCESS's affair, and more earnest, if possible, in the prosecution of it. For, as I would have died, rather than have made my court to that reign by sacrificing the interest of the PRINCESS; so there was nothing I dreaded more, than, by the least appearance of negligence, or coldness in the

2

present

present cause, to give ground to suspect me of having been flattered, or frightened into so base a conduct. I employed therefore all the powers I was capable of exerting to advance the design. I knew the thing was reasonable, the PRINCESS's happiness was concerned in it, and there was a fair prospect of succeeding. Besides, I thought that whatever happened in parliament, the KING could not well avoid giving some allowance to the next heir to the crown. And, if he should give her nothing, she had however, by the marriage-settlement, 20,000 *l.* a year, which would keep her in a retired way, much more agreeably than she could hope to live at court, if she depended on his generosity; of which I had no opinion: For the late LORD GODOLPHIN had told me, that the KING, on some meeting at the Treasury, speaking of the civil list, *wondered very much how the PRINCESS could spend 30,000 *l.* a year*, though it appeared afterwards that some of his favourites had more. And there were other parts of the KING's conduct (which shall be mentioned in

in a proper place) whereby it sufficiently appeared, that I did not mistake in my opinion of his disposition.

But, to return to the affair in parliament. A day or two before it was put to the vote in the house of commons, I was extremely surprized by a message from the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY, who, as he did not visit me, sent to desire to speak with me about business. When he came, he told me, *That he was sent by the KING, who promised to give the PRINCESS 50,000 l. a year, if she would desist from soliciting the settlement by parliament, and that he was confident HIS MAJESTY would keep his word : that if he did not, he was sure he would not serve him an hour after he broke it. I said, that such a resolution might be very right as to his grace, but that I did not see it would be of any use to the PRINCESS, if HIS MAJESTY should not perform the promise. The DUKE, to convince me of the reasonableness of what he proposed, added a great deal which had no effect; and I desired he would attend the PRINCESS herself, to*

C

which

which he consented. I went to her at his request to acquaint her of his coming. Her answer to him was, *That she could not think herself in the wrong to desire a security for what was to support her ; and that the business was now gone so far, that she thought it reasonable to see what her friends could do for her.*

I need not tell you that the PRINCESS carried her point, and that 50,000 l. was settled by parliament. For when the KING found that he could not persuade her to an entire dependency upon him, he compounded the matter with her friends upon these terms, to hinder their insisting on a larger settlement. The parliament had shewed an inclination that way : but it was at length thought advisable by the PRINCESS's friends, that she should accept of 50,000 l. securely settled, rather than have any farther struggle, considering the great power and influence of the crown, by means of its dependants.

Nevertheless, I was so fearful lest the PRINCESS should suffer for want of good advice, that after I had heard of the commons

mons voting 50,000 *l.* a year, I sent to speak with MY LORD ROCHESTER, and asked his opinion, whether the PRINCESS ought to be satisfied, or whether it was reasonable she should try to get more. (I did not then know how much his heart was bent on making his court to the QUEEN.) His answer to me was, *That he thought, not only that the PRINCESS ought to be satisfied with 50,000 l. but that she ought to have taken it in any way the KING and QUEEN pleased.* Which made me reflect that he would not have liked that advice in the case of his own 4000 *l.* a year from the Post-office settled on him and his son.

But I was not so uncivil as to speak my thought, nor so foolish as to struggle any longer. For most of those who had been prevailed with to promote the settlement were tories, among whom MY LORD ROCHESTER was a very great man. Their zeal on the present occasion was, doubtless, to thwart KING WILLIAM; for I never observed that, on any other, they discovered much regard for the PRINCESS OF DENMARK.

The success of the affair was chiefly imputed to the steadiness and diligence of my LORD MARLBOROUGH and ME, both by those, to whom it was so exceedingly disagreeable, and by her, to whose happiness it was then so necessary.

On one side, it was the chief source of all the dissatisfaction of the KING and QUEEN with us; and on the other, it was acknowledged by the PRINCESS with as deep a sense of the kindness, as could be expressed, and in a manner generous to a very high degree.

A little above a year after the settlement was made, I was surpriz'd with a letter from her, wherein she offered me the yearly pension of 1000 *l*. Some of her words are these; *I have had something to say to you a great while, and I did not know how to go about it. I have designed, ever since my revenue was settled, to desire you would accept of a thousand pounds a year. — I beg you would only look upon it as an earnest of my good-will, but never mention any thing of it to me; for I shall be ashamed to have*
any

any notice taken of such a thing from one that deserves more than I shall be ever able to return.

And some time afterwards, a little delay being made by her treasurer in the payment of it, she wrote another letter, wherein were these words ; *'Tis long since I mentioned this thing to dear MRS. FREEMAN. She has all the reason in the world to believe I did not mean what I said, or that I have changed my mind, which are both so ill qualities, that I cannot bear you should have cause to think your faithful MORLEY is capable of being guilty of either.*

The circumstances of my family at this time were not very great ; yet I was so far from catching at so free and large an offer, that I could not persuade myself to accept of it, till I had sent the first letter to LORD GODOLPHIN, and consulted him upon the matter. It was his opinion, that there was no reason in the world for me to refuse it. And perhaps no one else will think otherwise, who believes, as he did, that the settling of the PRINCESS's revenue had been

chiefly owing to MY LORD MARLBOROUGH'S indefatigable industry, and to mine.

The next difference that happened between the sisters, was upon the PRINCE'S design of going to sea. He was carried to this resolution by his unwillingness to stay at home, while there was so much action abroad; and by the remembrance of the extreme ill usage he had met with, when, at a great expence, he attended HIS MAJESTY into Ireland. For the KING would not suffer HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS to go in the coach with him: An affront never put upon a person of that rank before.

The PRINCE however submitted to this indignity, it being too late to take any measures to avoid it. Nor, during the whole campaign, did he fail in any part of duty or respect, though the KING never took more notice of him, than if he had been a page of the back-stairs.

You will allow, I believe, that it was very natural for the PRINCE to chuse a sea-expedition, rather than expose himself again to the like contemptuous usage. On
his

his taking leave of the KING, who was going to Flanders, he asked HIS MAJESTY'S permission to serve him at sea as a volunteer, and without any command. The KING said nothing; but immediately embraced him by way of adieu. Silence in such cases being generally taken for consent, the PRINCE prepared his equipage, and sent every thing on board. But the KING, as it afterwards appeared, had left orders with the QUEEN, that she should neither suffer the PRINCE to go to sea, nor yet forbid him to go, if she could so contrive matters, as to make his staying at home his own choice.

The QUEEN observed the KING'S directions very exactly. She sent a great lord to me, to desire I would persuade the PRINCESS to keep the PRINCE from going to sea; and this I was to compass, without letting the PRINCESS know that it was the QUEEN'S desire. I answered, *That I had all the duty imaginable for the QUEEN, but that no consideration could make me so failing to my mistress, as I should think myself,*

if I spoke to her upon that occasion, and concealed the reason of it. That it was natural for the PRINCESS to wish the PRINCE might stay at home, and be out of danger; but whether she could prevail in that matter, I did very much doubt. That nevertheless I would say to the PRINCESS whatever HER MAJESTY pleased, provided I might have the liberty to make use of her name. After this, the QUEEN sent MY LORD ROCHESTER to me, to desire much the same thing. *The PRINCE was not to go to sea, and this not going was to appear his own choice.* But after so much noise as had been made about his going, the PRINCE thought, that to send for his things back, without giving any reason for changing his design, would be making a very ridiculous figure, and therefore he would not submit. Upon which the QUEEN sent MY LORD NOTTINGHAM in form, positively to forbid the PRINCE OF DENMARK's going to sea.

Notwithstanding all these things, the QUEEN and PRINCESS lived, in appearance, for some time after, as if nothing
had

had happened, till the KING was pleased (without publicly assigning any particular reason) to remove MY LORD MARLBOROUGH from all his employments. HIS MAJESTY sent LORD NOTTINGHAM to tell him, that he had no more occasion for his service. This event might perhaps be well enough accounted for, by saying, that LORD PORTLAND had ever a great prejudice to MY LORD MARLBOROUGH, and that MY LADY ORKNEY, (then MRS. VILLIERS) though I had never done her any injury, except not making court to her, was my implacable enemy. But, I think, it is not to be doubted, that the principal cause of the KING's message, was the court's dislike that any body should have so much interest with the PRINCESS as I had, who would not implicitly obey every command of the KING and QUEEN. The disgrace of MY LORD MARLBOROUGH therefore was designed as a step towards removing me from about her.

A letter from the QUEEN to her sister, which I shall presently give you, affords ground for this opinion. And the behaviour

our of MY LORD ROCHESTER, who was much in the QUEEN's favour, and councils, confirms it. He had warmly opposed my coming into the PRINCESS's family, and he now shewed himself very desirous to have me removed, believing, without question, that could this be compassed, he should infallibly have the government of both sisters: though certainly, as to the PRINCESS, he never discovered any such regard for her, as should give him a title to her confidence.

But to come to the sequel of the KING's message. I solemnly protest, that the loss of MY LORD MARLBOROUGH's employments would never have broke my rest one single night upon account of interest; but, I confess, *the being turned out* is something very disagreeable to my temper. And, I believe it was three weeks, before my best friends could persuade me, that it was fit for me to go to a court, which (as I thought) had used MY LORD MARLBOROUGH very ill. However at last they prevailed. And I remember the chief argument was urged by MY LORD GODOLPHIN, who said, that it
could

could not be thought, I made any mean court to the KING and QUEEN, since to attend the PRINCESS, was only paying my duty where it was owing.

I waited therefore on my mistress to Kensington. The consequence was such, as my friends, having no reason to apprehend it, had never thought of. The next day the QUEEN wrote to her sister the following letter.

Kensington, Friday, the 5th of Feb.

‘ Having something to say to you, which
 ‘ I know will not be very pleasing, I chuse
 ‘ rather to write it first, being unwilling to
 ‘ surprize you; though, I think, what I
 ‘ am going to tell you, should not, if you
 ‘ give yourself the time to think, that ne-
 ‘ ver any body was suffered to live at court
 ‘ in MY LORD MARLBOROUGH’S circum-
 ‘ stances. I need not repeat the cause he
 ‘ has given the KING to do what he has
 ‘ done, nor his unwillingness at all times
 ‘ to come to such extremities, though peo-
 ‘ ple do deserve it.

‘ I hope,

' I hope, you do me the justice to be-
 ' lieve, it is as much against my will, that
 ' I now tell you, that, after this, it is very
 ' unfit LADY MARLBOROUGH should stay
 ' with you, since that gives her husband so
 ' just a pretence of being where he ought
 ' not.

' I think, I might have expected you
 ' should have spoke to me of it. And the
 ' KING and I, both believing it, made us
 ' stay thus long. But seeing you was so far
 ' from it, that you brought LADY MARL-
 ' BOROUGH hither last night, makes us re-
 ' solve to put it off no longer, but tell you,
 ' she must not stay; and that I have all
 ' the reason imaginable to look upon your
 ' bringing her, as the strangest thing that
 ' ever was done. Nor could all my kind-
 ' ness for you (which is ever ready to turn
 ' all you do the best way, at any other
 ' time) have hindred me shewing you that
 ' moment, but I considered your condition,
 ' and that made me master myself so far,
 ' as not to take notice of it then.

But,

‘ But now I must tell you, it was very
 ‘ unkind in a sister, would have been very
 ‘ uncivil in an equal, and I need not say I
 ‘ have more to claim. Which, though
 ‘ my kindness would make me never ex-
 ‘ act, yet when I see the use you would
 ‘ make of it, I must tell you, I know what
 ‘ is due to me, and expect to have it from
 ‘ you. ’Tis upon that account, I tell you
 ‘ plainly, LADY MARLBOROUGH must not
 ‘ continue with you in the circumstances
 ‘ her LORD is.

‘ I know this will be uneasy to you, and
 ‘ I am sorry for it ; and it is very much so
 ‘ to me to say all this to you, for I have all
 ‘ the real kindness imaginable for you, and
 ‘ as I ever have, so will always do my part
 ‘ to live with you as sisters ought. That is,
 ‘ not only like so near relations, but like
 ‘ friends. And, as such, I did think to
 ‘ write to you. For I would have made
 ‘ myself believe your kindness for her made
 ‘ you at first forget that you should have
 ‘ for the KING and ME ; and resolved to
 ‘ put you in mind of it myself, neither of

' us being willing to come to harsher ways.
 ' But the fight of LADY MARLBOROUGH
 ' having changed my thoughts, does natu-
 ' rally alter my stile. And since by that I
 ' see how little you seem to consider what
 ' even in common civility you owe us, I
 ' have told it you plainly ; but withal as-
 ' sure you, that let me have never so much
 ' reason to take any thing ill of you, my
 ' kindness is so great, that I can pass over
 ' most things, and live with you, as becomes
 ' me. And I desire to do so merely from
 ' that motive. For I do love you, as my
 ' sister, and nothing but yourself can make
 ' me do otherwise. And that is the reason
 ' I chuse to write this, rather than tell it
 ' you, that you may overcome your first
 ' thoughts; and when you have well con-
 ' sidered, you will find, that though the
 ' thing be hard, (which I again assure you
 ' I am sorry for) yet it is not unreasonable,
 ' but what has ever been practised, and
 ' what you yourself would do, were you
 ' in my place.'

‘ I will

I will end this with once more desiring
 you to consider the matter impartially, and
 take time for it. I do not desire an an-
 swer presently, because I would not have
 you give a rash one. I shall come to your
 drawing-room to-morrow before you play,
 because you know why I cannot make one :
 At some other time we shall reason the
 business calmly ; which I will willingly do,
 or any thing else that may shew, it shall
 never be my fault if we do not live kind-
 ly together : Nor will I ever be other by
 choice, but your truly loving and affecti-
 onate sister,

M. R.

I am perhaps too much concerned in the
 affair to be a proper judge of this letter.
 However, I shall take the liberty to remark,
 that it seems not easy to reconcile the QUEEN'S
 being sorry *to say so much*, with her em-
 ploying at the same time such *useless repe-
 titions* ; as if it had been a pleasure to her
 to remind her sister of the distance between
 them, and of what was due from the PRIN-

CESS OF DENMARK to the QUEEN OF ENGLAND. And I have wondered too, that so much kindness for a sister, big with child, and so much piety (for it must be observed the QUEEN was in devotion) did not hinder her from doing a thing which she owns is *hard*. HER MAJESTY indeed says, that *though it be hard, it is not unreasonable; but what has ever been practised, and what the PRINCESS herself would do in her place*. What the PRINCESS would have done in her place, no body can tell: (she herself thought that she would not have done like the QUEEN:) But that it was not the *constant practice* is certain from many instances to the contrary, and particularly one, at that very time in the case of the MARCHIONESS OF HALLIFAX. And if the practice was not constant, how reasonable it was for the QUEEN to insist upon it in my case, I believe I may safely leave to the judgment of her most zealous advocates.

For how disagreeable soever to the QUEEN my conduct had been, it would have proved no easy task to her, to find in any part of it
a plau-

a plausible reason for pressing the PRINCESS to part with me. Would any person, who deserves to be in the *service* (not to to say *intimate friendship*) of a princess, have acted otherwise than I did, in relation to those points in which only I can be supposed to have disobliged their MAJESTIES?

Would it have become me to be indifferent in the affair of the succession to the crown? and to be willing, *without the necessity of publick good*, that my mistress, my friend, the PRINCESS of DENMARK should yield her birthright to the PRINCE OF ORANGE?

Could I, consistently with honour, have advised the PRINCESS to desist from her attempt to get a maintenance settled by parliament, and leave herself to the generosity of a KING and QUEEN, who, by several slights and affronts put upon her, had shew'd how very little they were concerned about her happiness?

Was the part which the QUEEN would have had me act, in relation to the PRINCE's going to sea, such, as any person, who had the least regard for HIS HIGHNESS's character

and glory, would have consented to perform?

Doubtless my behaviour on all these occasions was criminal in the QUEEN's eyes; but this was only because she was QUEEN; for she had formerly looked upon my attachment and fidelity to her sister in a very different light.

As a proof of this, I shall give YOUR LORDSHIP two letters, which I received from her when she was PRINCESS OF ORANGE. I had many others in the same stile, which were lost in the hurry of the Revolution.

Loo, September the 30th.

‘ DR. STANLEY's going to England is too
 ‘ good an opportunity for me to lose of as-
 ‘ suring LADY CHURCHILL, she cannot give
 ‘ me greater satisfaction than letting me know
 ‘ the firm resolution both LORD CHURCH-
 ‘ ILL and you have taken, never to be want-
 ‘ ing in what you owe your religion. Such a
 ‘ generous resolution I am sure must make
 ‘ you deserve the esteem of all good people,
 ‘ and my sister's in particular. I need say
 ‘ nothing

‘ nothing of mine, you have it upon a double
 ‘ account, as my sister’s friend, besides what
 ‘ I have said already; and you may be as-
 ‘ sured, that I shall always be glad of an
 ‘ occasion to shew it both to your LORD
 ‘ and you.

‘ I have nothing more to add; for your
 ‘ friendship makes my sister as dear to you
 ‘ as to me, and I am persuaded we shall e-
 ‘ ver agree in our care for her; as, I be-
 ‘ lieve, she and I should in our kindness for
 ‘ you, were we near enough to renew our
 ‘ acquaintance.

M A R I E.

‘ IF it were as easy for me to write to MY
 ‘ LADY CHURCHILL as it is hard to find a
 ‘ safe hand, she might justly wonder at my
 ‘ long silence; but I hope she does me more
 ‘ justice than to think it my fault. I have
 ‘ little to say at present. To answer the
 ‘ melancholy reflections in your last is now
 ‘ too late; *but I hope my sister and you will*
 ‘ *never part.* I send you here one for her,
 ‘ and have not any more time now than on-

' ly to assure you, that I shall never forget
 ' the kindness you shewed to her who is so
 ' dear to me. That, and all the good I
 ' have heard of you, will make me ever
 ' your affectionate friend, which I shall be
 ' ready to shew otherwise than by words
 ' whenever I have an opportunity.'

YOUR LORDSHIP sees by these letters that
 the very same tenour of behaviour towards
 the PRINCESS, which afterwards displeas'd
 the QUEEN, gave me at that time a recom-
 mendation to her affection ; but the case was
 alter'd. And the PRINCESS OF DENMARK
 was now at the QUEEN OF ENGLAND'S com-
 mand, to put away *that kind, dear friend* whom
 the PRINCESS OF ORANGE had *hoped she*
would never part with. And she was to do this,
 not for any fault I had committed, but on-
 ly because I was the wife of MY LORD
 MARLBOROUGH, who happened to be in
 disgrace with the KING.

Had the QUEEN really had custom on her
 side to countenance her in this harsh com-
 mand, yet surely what was mere custom,
 and

and had no law to support it, might well have been neglected in the present case, in favour of reason and humanity.

She calls her command *hard*, because of the *kindness* she knew the PRINCEES had for me. But had she mentioned the *reasons* too of that kindness, the severity of her injunction would have been more conspicuous. I speak not now of the PRINCESS's inclination for me, previous to services on my part, but of that kindness which proceeded from her experience of my disinterested attachment to her interests and happiness. I say *disinterested* attachment. For the PRINCESS knew that the QUEEN, after her coming into England, did me many honours which would have engaged some people to fix the foundation of their future fortune in her favour; and that there was no person more likely than I, to rise high upon this bottom, if I could have been tempted to break the inviolable laws of friendship. Nor was there the least probability that the PRINCESS should outlive the KING and QUEEN, to recompense my fidelity, by such means as the royal

prerogative furnishes. And as to the present power the PRINCESS had to enrich me, her revenue was no such vast thing, as that I could propose to draw any mighty matters from thence; and, besides, SIR BENJAMIN BATHURST had the management of it; I had no share in that service.

I might add here, as a farther proof of the purity and integrity of my conduct, what I fancy you will easily believe: That on some occasions I could, without losing my mistress's affection, have sacrificed her cause, to make my court to the QUEEN. But so detestable a thought never entred into my soul; nor did I ever by asking any favour of the QUEEN, great or small, for my self or others, give her the least ground to hope, she could have any hold of me on the side of my interest.

Before the PRINCESS returned an answer to the QUEEN's letter of command to dismiss me, she sent to MY LORD ROCHESTER, shewed him the answer she had prepared, and, with all the earnestness that can be imagined, desired he would use his interest
to

to assist her, and that he would carry her letter; which last she could by no means persuade him to do. He told her he would speak to the QUEEN, but could not give the letter to her. So the PRINCESS sent it by one of her own servants. It contained these words.

‘ YOUR MAJESTY was in the right to
 ‘ think your letter would be very surprizing
 ‘ to me. For you must needs be sensible
 ‘ enough of the kindness I have for MY
 ‘ LADY MARLBOROUGH, to know, that a
 ‘ command from you to part with her
 ‘ must be the greatest mortification in the
 ‘ world to me; and indeed of such a na-
 ‘ ture, as I might well have hoped your
 ‘ kindness to me would have always pre-
 ‘ vented. I am satisfied she cannot have
 ‘ been guilty of any fault to you. And it
 ‘ would be extremely to her advantage, if
 ‘ I could here repeat every word that ever
 ‘ she had said to me of you in her whole
 ‘ life. I confess, it is no small addition
 ‘ to my trouble to find the want of YOUR

' MAJESTY's kindness to me upon this oc-
 ' casion; since I am sure I have always en-
 ' deavoured to deserve it by all the actions
 ' of my life.

' Your care of my present condition is
 ' extremely obliging. And if you would
 ' be pleased to add to it so far, as upon
 ' my account to recal your severe command
 ' (as I must beg leave to call it in a matter
 ' so tender to me, and so little reasonable,
 ' as I think, to be imposed upon me, that
 ' you would scarce require it from the mean-
 ' est of your subjects) I should ever ac-
 ' knowledge it as a very agreeable mark
 ' of your kindness to me. And I must as
 ' freely own, that as I think this proceeding
 ' can be for no other intent than to give me
 ' a very sensible mortification, so there is
 ' no misery that I cannot readily resolve to
 ' suffer, rather than the thoughts of parting
 ' with her. If after all this that I have said,
 ' I must still find my self so unhappy as
 ' to be farther pressed in this matter, yet
 ' YOUR MAJESTY may be assur'd that, as my
 ' past

‘ past actions have given the greatest testi-
 ‘ mony of my respect both for the KING
 ‘ and you, so it shall always be my endea-
 ‘ vour, wherever I am, to preserve it care-
 ‘ fully for the time to come, as becomes

‘ YOUR MAJESTY’S

From the *Cockpit*,
 Feb. 6th, 1692.

‘ *very affectionate sister*

‘ *and servant,*

‘ ANNE.

To this the PRINCESS received no an-
 swer but a message by my lord chamberlain
to forbid my continuing any longer at the
Cockpit.

It was the opinion of several people, that
 the KING had no more power to remove
 any body out of that house, than out of any
 other buildings on that side the park, it
 having been bought of the DUKE OF LEEDS,
 and settled at the PRINCESS’S marriage in
 KING CHARLES’S time on her, and her heirs.
 But the PRINCESS had resolved to do every
 5 thing

thing respectful to the KING and QUEEN, except yielding in that single point of parting with me. And therefore instead of insisting on the right, which she had in common with every other subject, *of being mistress in her own house*, she wrote to the QUEEN the following letter.

‘ I am very sorry to find that all I have
 ‘ said my self, and MY LORD ROCHESTER
 ‘ for me, has not had effect enough to keep
 ‘ YOUR MAJESTY from persisting in a re-
 ‘ solution, which you are satisfied must be so
 ‘ great a mortification to me, as, to avoid
 ‘ it, I shall be obliged to retire, and de-
 ‘ prive my self of the satisfaction of living
 ‘ where I might have frequent opportuni-
 ‘ ties of assuring you of that duty and re-
 ‘ spect, which I always have been, and
 ‘ shall be desirous to pay you upon all oc-
 ‘ casions.

‘ My only consolation in this extremity is,
 ‘ that not having done any thing in all my
 ‘ life, to deserve your unkindness, I hope I
 ‘ shall not be long under the necessity of
 ‘ absenting

‘ absenting my self from you; the thought
 ‘ of which is so uneasy to me, that I find
 ‘ my self too much indisposed to give YOUR
 ‘ MAJESTY any farther trouble at this time.

February the 8th, 1692.

Though MY LORD ROCHESTER be mentioned in this letter, as having employed his good offices to prevail with the QUEEN to change her determination, there is little reason to think that his intercession could be very warm or urgent after the refusal he made to carry the former letter, though pressed to it by the most earnest entreaties.

At the same time that the PRINCESS resolved to leave the Cockpit, she sent to speak with the DUCHESS OF SOMERSET, of whom she desired to borrow Sion for some little time. The DUCHESS made her many expressions, and very soon after, having spoke to the DUKE OF SOMERSET of it, waited on her again, to acquaint her, in a very respectful manner, that Sion was at her service.

As soon as this was known, the KING did all he could to dissuade the DUKE from
 letting

letting the PRINCESS have the house ; but his grace had too much greatness of mind to go back from his promise ; so there was an end of that matter.

Before the PRINCESS removed from the Cockpit, she waited upon HER MAJESTY at Kensington, making all the professions that could be imagined, to which the QUEEN was as insensible as a statue. When she did answer her it was in the stile of her letter.

Soon after the PRINCESS's going to Sion, a dreadful plot broke out, which was said to have been hid somewhere, I don't know where, in a flower-pot ; and MY LORD MARLBOROUGH was sent to the Tower.

To commit a peer to prison it was necessary there should be an affidavit from somebody of the treason. MY LORD ROMNEY therefore, secretary of state, had sent to one YOUNG, who was then in jail for perjury and forgery, and paid his fine, in order to make him what they call a *legal evidence*. For as the court-lawyers said, YOUNG not having lost his ears, was an *irreproachable witness*. I shall not dwell on the story of
this

this fellow's villainy, the bishop of ROCHESTER having given a full account of it in print.

Whether MY LORD MARLBOROUGH'S conspiracy with this YOUNG was what the QUEEN meant in her letter to the PRINCESS, where she speaks of *the cause* MY LORD MARLBOROUGH *had given the KING to do what he had done, and of his unwillingness to come to such extremities, though people did deserve it,* I know not. Nor indeed could I ever learn what cause the KING assigned for his displeasure. But it is natural to think he would give the best reason he could for using in that manner a man, who had done so much for the Revolution. Every one knows, that MY LORD MARLBOROUGH had considerable employments under KING JAMES, and might have hoped to be as great a favourite as any body, could he have assisted in bringing about that unhappy PRINCE'S scheme of fixing popery and arbitrary power in England. It was highly improbable therefore, that he, who had done so much, and sacrificed so much for the preservation of the religion

religion and liberty of his country, should on a sudden engage in a conspiracy to destroy them. And though these considerations had no weight with the KING, they had so much with MY LORD DEVONSHIRE, MY LORD BRADFORD, and the late DUKE OF MONTAGU, that they thought it infamous to send MY LORD MARLBOROUGH to prison upon such evidence; and therefore when the warrant for his commitment came to be signed at the council-table, they refused to put their hands to it, though at that time they had no particular friendship for him. MY LORD BRADFORD's behaviour was very remarkable; for he made MY LORD MARLBOROUGH a visit in the Tower, while some of our friends, who had lived in our family like near relations for many years, were so fearful of doing themselves hurt at court, that in the whole time of his confinement, they never made him or me a visit, nor sent to enquire how we did, for fear it should be known.

MY LORD MARLBOROUGH's being sent to the Tower having obliged me to go and stay at London to attend the affair of his release-

ment, I there received, among many others, in the same stile of tenderneſs, the following letters from the PRINCESS. I have tranſcribed theſe, to ſhew you her goodneſs to me upon all occaſions, and to give you a more lively impreſſion of the cruelty of the QUEEN's command, that enjoined her ſiſter to part with a friend ſo dear to her heart, merely to gratify the royal pride in a point of ceremony.

To LADY MARLBOROUGH.

‘ Though I have nothing to ſay to my
 ‘ dear MRS. FREEMAN, I cannot help en-
 ‘ quiring how ſhe and her lord does. If it
 ‘ be not convenient to you to write, when
 ‘ you receive this, either keep the bearer
 ‘ till it is, or let me have a word or two
 ‘ from you by the next opportunity when it
 ‘ is eaſy to you; for I would not be a con-
 ‘ ſtraint to you at any time, much leſs
 ‘ now, when you have ſo many things to
 ‘ do, and think of. All I deſire to hear
 ‘ from you at ſuch a time as this, is, that
 ‘ you and your's are well. Which, next
 ‘ to

‘ to having MY LORD MARLBOROUGH out
 ‘ of his enemies power, is the best news
 ‘ that can come to her, who, to the last
 ‘ moment of her life, will be dear MRS.
 ‘ FREEMAN’S.

Friday night.

To LADY MARLBOROUGH.

‘ I give dear MRS. FREEMAN a thou-
 ‘ sand thanks for her kind letter, which
 ‘ gives me an account of her concerns; and
 ‘ that is what I desire more to know than
 ‘ any other news. I shall reckon the days
 ‘ and hours, and think the time very long
 ‘ till the term is out, for both your sake and
 ‘ MY LORD MARLBOROUGH’S, and that
 ‘ he may be at liberty, and your mind at
 ‘ ease. You do not say any thing of your
 ‘ health, which makes me hope you are
 ‘ well, at least, not worse than when you
 ‘ were here. And, dear MRS. FREEMAN
 ‘ don’t say when I can see you, if I come
 ‘ to town; therefore I ask what day will
 ‘ be most convenient to you? For, though
 ‘ all days are alike to me, I should be glad
 ‘ you

‘ you would name one, because I am to
‘ take some physick, and would order that
‘ accordingly. I confess, I long to see you,
‘ but am not so unreasonable to desire that
‘ satisfaction till it is easy to you. I wish
‘ with all my soul, that you may not be a
‘ true prophetess, and that it may be soon
‘ in our power to enjoy one another’s com-
‘ pany, more than it has been of late ; which
‘ is all I covet in this world.

To LADY MARLBOROUGH.

‘ I am sorry with all my heart, dear MRS.
‘ FREEMAN meets with so many delays;
‘ but it is a comfort, they cannot keep LORD
‘ MARLBOROUGH in the Tower longer
‘ than the end of the term; and, I hope,
‘ when the parliament sits, care will be tak-
‘ en that people may not be clapt up for
‘ nothing, or else there will be no living in
‘ quiet for any body, but insolent Dutch,
‘ and sneaking mercenary Englishmen. Dear
‘ MRS. FREEMAN, farewell; be assured
‘ your faithful MRS. MORLEY can never
‘ change; and, I hope, you do not in the
‘ least

least doubt of her kindness, which, if
 it be possible, encreases every day, and
 that can never have an end but with her
 life. MRS. MORLEY hopes her dear MRS.
 FREEMAN will let her have the satisfaction of hearing from her again to-morrow.

Thursday.

To LADY MARLBOROUGH.

Dear MRS. FREEMAN may easily imagine, I cannot have much to say, since I saw her. However, I must write two words. For though I believe she does not doubt of my constancy, seeing how base and false all the world is, I am of that temper, I think, I can never say enough to assure you of it. Therefore give me leave to assure you they can never change me. And there is no misery I cannot readily resolve to suffer, rather than the thought of parting from you. And I do swear, I would sooner be torn in pieces, than alter this my resolution. My dear MRS. FREEMAN I long to hear from you.

To

To LADY MARLBOROUGH.

‘ My dear MRS. FREEMAN was in so dif-
 ‘ mal a way when she went from hence,
 ‘ that I cannot forbear asking, how she does,
 ‘ and if she has yet any hopes of LORD
 ‘ MARLBOROUGH’S being soon at liberty.
 ‘ For GOD’S sake, have a care of your dear
 ‘ self, and give as little way to melancholy
 ‘ thoughts as you can. If I could be as of-
 ‘ ten with you as those that have it in their
 ‘ power, but not in their will, you should
 ‘ seldom be alone; but though I have not
 ‘ that satisfaction, as much as I desire, I
 ‘ assure you, my heart is always with you;
 ‘ and if wishes signified any thing, you
 ‘ would have no uneasy minute.

‘ Though I long of all things to hear
 ‘ from my dear MRS. FREEMAN, I am not
 ‘ so unreasonable as to expect the groom
 ‘ should come back to-night, if he comes
 ‘ to you at an unseasonable hour; therefore
 ‘ keep him till it is easy to you to write.
 ‘ But I am in hopes, I shall have a word or
 ‘ two before I go to bed; because my dear

‘ MRS. FREEMAN has promised I shall hear
 ‘ from you.

‘ I fancy afs’s milk would do you good,
 ‘ and that is what you might take morn-
 ‘ ing or afternoon, as it is most conve-
 ‘ nient.

‘ I had no sooner sealed my letter, but
 ‘ I received my dear MRS. FREEMAN’S,
 ‘ for which I give her a thousand thanks,
 ‘ and am overjoyed at the good news you
 ‘ send me, which I hope will cure you of
 ‘ every thing.

To LADY MARLBOROUGH.

‘ I am in pain to know how my dear
 ‘ MRS. FREEMAN does, for she is not used
 ‘ to complain, nor to be let blood for a lit-
 ‘ tle thing ; and therefore I cannot help en-
 ‘ quiring what is the matter, and how she
 ‘ finds herself now? I can come either to
 ‘ London or Camden-house to-morrow or
 ‘ monday, or any other day. If you will
 ‘ let me know where and when, and what
 ‘ time I may have the satisfaction of see-
 ‘ ing you, your faithful MORLEY will be
 ‘ sure to meet you.

YOUR

YOUR LORDSHIP sees by these letters of tenderness how impossible it must have been for the PRINCESS to comply with the QUEEN's desire, had it appeared less unreasonable than it did. However, she was very attentive not to be wanting in any point of *due* respect. Falling in labour at Sion, she sent SIR BENJAMIN BATHURST to present her humble duty to the QUEEN, and acquaint her with it, and that she was much worse than she used to be ; as she really was. The QUEEN did not think fit to see the messenger, nor to make any answer.

Notwithstanding this, when the PRINCESS was brought to bed of a child, that died some minutes after the birth, she sent MY LADY CHARLOTTE BEVERWAERT to inform HER MAJESTY of what had happened. My lady waited some considerable time before the QUEEN saw her. The reason of this was MY LORD ROCHESTER's not being present, when the message came. After some conversation with him, the QUEEN sent for MY LADY CHARLOTTE, and told her, *she would go that afternoon and see the PRIN-*

CESS *at Sion*, and she was there very soon after the notice arrived.

She came attended by the ladies DERBY and SCARBOROUGH. I am sure it will be necessary to have a good voucher to persuade YOUR LORDSHIP of the truth of what I am going to relate. The PRINCESS herself told me, that the QUEEN never asked her how she did, nor expressed the least concern for her condition, nor so much as took her by the hand. The salutation was this: *I have made the first step, by coming to you, and I now expect you should make the next by removing MY LADY MARLBOROUGH.* The PRINCESS answered, *That she had never in all her life disobeyed her, except in that one particular, which she hoped would, some time or other, appear as unreasonable to HER MAJESTY, as it did to her.* Upon which the QUEEN rose up and went away, repeating to the PRINCE, as he led her to the coach, the same thing she had said to the PRINCESS.

MY LADY DERBY did not come to the bed-side, nor make the least enquiry after her

her health, though the PRINCESS had recommended her, for groom of the stole, to the QUEEN, on her accession to the crown. LADY SCARBOROUGH indeed behaved herself as became her on that occasion, and afterwards asked the QUEEN's leave to visit me, because we had been old acquaintance; which was granted.

I have heard that the QUEEN, when she came home, was pleased to say, *she was sorry she had spoke to the PRINCESS; who, she confessed, had so much concern upon her at renewing the affair, that she trembled and looked as white as the sheets.* But if HER MAJESTY was really touched with compassion, it is plain, by what followed, that she overcame herself extremely. For presently after this visit, all company was forbid waiting on the PRINCESS; and her guards were taken away.

I do not see how the most zealous advocates for the QUEEN can vindicate her in these proceedings to an only sister, nor how a man of that mighty understanding, MY LORD ROCHESTER was said to have, could

think, that a visit (which the QUEEN made to every countess) was so extraordinary a grace to a sister, that it should oblige her to do, what she had retired from the court to avoid.

I must observe to YOUR LORDSHIP, that the KING was not in England, when this last thing happened. MY LORD ROCHESTER was the QUEEN'S oracle; and whether he had any share or not in beginning the ill usage of the PRINCESS, he was without question the prosecutor of it.

I fancy, you have been wishing, during all this story, that I had made some proposal to the PRINCESS, to free her from the trouble she was in, and to save her from such indignities, as surely have seldom, if ever, been offered to the presumptive heir of a crown. When you have read some letters I had from her on the occasion, I believe you will be satisfied I did my part. I assure you, that from the very beginning of the difference, it was my earnest request to her to let me go from her; for though, had I been in her place, I would not have complied

plied with the QUEEN's demand, yet I thought that in mine, I could not discharge what I owed to the PRINCESS, without employing every argument my thoughts could suggest, to prevail with her to part with me. But whenever I said any thing that looked that way, she fell into the greatest passion of tenderness and weeping that is possible to imagine. And though my situation, at that time, was so disagreeable to my temper, that, could I have known how long it was to last, I could have chosen to go to the Indies sooner, than to endure it; yet, had I been to suffer a thousand deaths, I think I ought to have submitted, rather than have gone from her against her will.

As soon as the PRINCESS was recovered from a fever, which followed the indisposition of her lying-in, (and which, I believe, was, in great measure, caused by her trouble) she began to think she should be found fault with, if she did not express her thankfulness for the great honour the QUEEN had done her. Whereupon she sent to doctor STILLINGFLEET, bishop of Worcester, to
come

come to see her, intending to write to the QUEEN by him, and to make use of his credit to soften her. On this occasion, I had from her the two following letters.

To LADY MARLBOROUGH.

‘ I had last night a very civil answer from
 ‘ the bishop of WORCESTER, whom I sent
 ‘ to speak with, but have heard nothing more
 ‘ of him since, so I dare not venture to go
 ‘ to London to-day, for fear of missing him.
 ‘ If he comes in any time to-morrow, I will
 ‘ not fail of being with my dear MRS. FREE-
 ‘ MAN, about five or six o’clock, unless
 ‘ you are to go to the Tower. And if you
 ‘ do, pray be so kind as to let me know
 ‘ time enough to stop my journey. For I
 ‘ would not go to London, and miss the
 ‘ satisfaction of seeing you. I could not for-
 ‘ bear writing, though I had nothing more
 ‘ to say, but that it is impossible ever to ex-
 ‘ press the kindness I have for dear MRS.
 ‘ FREEMAN.

To LADY MARLBOROUGH.

‘ SIR BENJAMIN telling me you were not
 ‘ come

' come to town at three o'clock, makes me
 ' in pain to know how your son does, and
 ' I can't help enquiring after him and dear
 ' MRS. FREEMAN. The bishop of WORCES-
 ' TER was with me this morning before I
 ' was dress'd. I gave him my letter to the
 ' QUEEN, and he has promised to second
 ' it, and seemed to undertake it very wil-
 ' lingly: Though by all the discourse I
 ' had with him, (of which I will give
 ' you a particular account when I see you)
 ' I find him very partial to her. The last
 ' time he was here, I told him you had
 ' several times desired you might go from
 ' me, and I have repeated the same thing
 ' again to him. For you may easily ima-
 ' gine, I would not neglect doing you
 ' right upon all occasions. But I beg it
 ' again for CHRIST JESUS's sake, that
 ' you would never name it any more to
 ' me. For be assured, if you should ever
 ' do so cruel a thing as to leave me, from
 ' that moment I shall never enjoy one quiet
 ' hour. And should you do it without ask-
 ' ing my consent (which if I ever give you,
 ' may

‘ may I never see the face of heaven) I
 ‘ will shut myself up, and never see the
 ‘ world more, but live where I may be
 ‘ forgotten by human kind.

The letter which the PRINCESS sent to
 the QUEEN by the bishop of WORCESTER
 was in these terms.

Sion, the 20th of May.

‘ I have now, GOD be thank’d, recover’d
 ‘ my strength well enough to go abroad.
 ‘ And though my duty and inclination
 ‘ would both lead me to wait upon YOUR
 ‘ MAJESTY, as soon as I am able to do it,
 ‘ yet I have of late had the misfortune of
 ‘ being so much under YOUR MAJESTY’s
 ‘ displeasure, as to apprehend, there may
 ‘ be hard constructions made upon any
 ‘ thing I either do, or not do, with the
 ‘ most respectful intentions. And I am in
 ‘ doubt whether the same arguments, that
 ‘ have prevailed with YOUR MAJESTY to
 ‘ forbid people from shewing their usual
 ‘ respects to me, may not be carried so much

' farther, as not to permit me to pay my
 ' duty to you. That, I acknowledge,
 ' would be a great encrease of affliction to
 ' me; and nothing but YOUR MAJESTY'S
 ' own command shall ever willingly make
 ' me submit to it. For, whatever reason I
 ' may think in my own mind I have to
 ' complain of being hardly used, yet I will
 ' strive to hide it, as much as possible. And
 ' though I will not pretend to live at the
 ' Cockpit, unless you would be so kind as
 ' to make it easy to me, yet wherever I
 ' am, I will endeavour always to give the
 ' constant marks of duty and respect, which
 ' I have in my heart for YOUR MAJESTY,
 ' as becomes

' YOUR MAJESTY'S

' *very affectionate sister*

' *and servant,*

A N N E.

To this the QUEEN returned the following answer.

To

To the PRINCESS.

‘ I have received your’s by the bishop of
 ‘ WORCESTER, and have very little to say
 ‘ to it ; since you cannot but know, that as I
 ‘ never used compliments, so now they will
 ‘ not serve.

‘ ’Tis none of my fault, we live at this
 ‘ distance, and I have endeavoured to shew
 ‘ my willingness to do otherwise. And I
 ‘ will do no more. Don’t give yourself
 ‘ any unnecessary trouble : for be assured
 ‘ it is not words can make us live together
 ‘ as we ought. You know what I required
 ‘ of you. And I now tell you, if you
 ‘ doubted it before, that I cannot change
 ‘ my mind, but expect to be complied with,
 ‘ or you must not wonder if I doubt of
 ‘ your kindness. You can give me no other
 ‘ marks, that will satisfy me. Nor can I
 ‘ put any other construction upon your ac-
 ‘ tions than what all the world must do,
 ‘ that sees them. These things don’t hin-
 ‘ der me being very glad to hear you are so
 ‘ well, and wishing you may continue so ;
 ‘ and

‘ and that you may yet, while ’tis in your
 ‘ power, oblige me to be your affectionate
 ‘ sister

‘ MARIE R.

What sentiments the PRINCESS had on receiving this harsh, peremptory declaration from the QUEEN, you will see by her letter to me on that occasion.

The PRINCESS to LADY MARLBOROUGH.

‘ I am very sensibly touched with the
 ‘ misfortune that my dear MRS. FREEMAN
 ‘ has had of losing her son, knowing very
 ‘ well, what it is to lose a child : but she
 ‘ knowing my heart so well, and how great
 ‘ a share I bear in all her concerns, I will
 ‘ not say any more on this subject, for fear
 ‘ of renewing her passion too much.

‘ Being now at liberty to go where I
 ‘ please, by the QUEEN’s refusing to see me,
 ‘ I am mightily inclined to go to-morrow,
 ‘ after dinner, to the Cockpit, and from
 ‘ thence privately in a chair to see you,
 ‘ some time next week. I believe it will

‘ be time for me to go to London to make
 ‘ an end of that business of Berkeley house.

‘ The bishop brought me the QUEEN’s
 ‘ letter early this morning, and by that lit-
 ‘ tle he said, he did not seem so well satis-
 ‘ fied with her, as he was yesterday. He
 ‘ has promised to bear me witness, that I
 ‘ have made all the advances, that were rea-
 ‘ sonable. And I confess, I think, the
 ‘ more it is told about, that I would have
 ‘ waited on the QUEEN, but that she re-
 ‘ fused seeing me, it is the better : and
 ‘ therefore I will not scruple saying it to
 ‘ any body, when it comes in my way.

‘ There were some in the family, as soon
 ‘ as the news came this morning of our
 ‘ fleet’s beating the French, that advised
 ‘ the PRINCE to go in the afternoon to
 ‘ compliment the QUEEN. And another
 ‘ asked me, if I would not send her one ?
 ‘ but we neither of us thought there was
 ‘ any necessity of it then, and much less
 ‘ since I received this arbitrary letter. I
 ‘ don’t send you the original for fear any
 ‘ accident may happen to the bearer : for I
 ‘ love

' love to keep such letters by me for my
 ' own justification. Sure never any body
 ' was used so by a sister ! but I thank God
 ' I have nothing to reproach myself withal
 ' in this business, but the more I think of
 ' all that has passed, the better I am satisfied.
 ' And if I had done otherwise, I
 ' should have deserved to have been the
 ' scorn of the world, and to be trampled
 ' upon as much as my enemies would have
 ' me.

' Dear MRS. FREEMAN farewell. I hope
 ' in CHRIST you will never think more of
 ' leaving me, for I would be sacrificed to
 ' do you the least service, and nothing but
 ' death can ever make me part with you.
 ' For if it be possible I am every day more
 ' and more yours.

' I hope your lord is well. It was MR.
 ' MAUL and LADY FITZHARDING
 ' that advised the PRINCE and me to
 ' make our compliments to the QUEEN.

AS YOUR LORDSHIP has here read the
 PRINCESS's final resolution, you may now per-
 F haps

haps be curious to know, what were the PRINCE OF DENMARK's dispositions, in relation to this affair. Some parts of the following letters will satisfy you *in this point*, as the rest will confirm what has been said of my desiring to leave the PRINCESS ; the ill treatment she had met with, in this reign, from the beginning ; and the obligations she thought herself under to LORD MARLBOROUGH and me for our fidelity and diligent services to her.

To LADY MARLBOROUGH.

‘ I really long to know how my dear
 ‘ MRS. FREEMAN got home ; and now I
 ‘ have this opportunity of writing, she must
 ‘ give me leave to tell her, if she should
 ‘ ever be so cruel to leave her faithful MRS.
 ‘ MORLEY, she will rob her of all the joy
 ‘ and quiet of her life ; for if that day should
 ‘ come, I could never enjoy a happy mi-
 ‘ nute, and I swear to you I would shut my
 ‘ self up and never see a creature. You may
 ‘ easily see all this would have come upon
 ‘ me, if you had not been. If you do but
 ‘ remember

' remember what the QUEEN said to me the
 ' night before your lord was turned out of
 ' all ; then she begun to pick quarrels ; and
 ' if they should take off twenty or thirty
 ' thousand pound, have I not lived upon
 ' as little before ? When I was first married
 ' we had but twenty (it is true indeed the
 ' KING was so kind to pay my debts) and
 ' if it should come to that again, what re-
 ' trenchment is there, in my family, I would
 ' not willingly make, and be glad of that
 ' pretence to do it : never fancy, dear MRS.
 ' FREEMAN, if what you fear should hap-
 ' pen, that you are the occasion ; no, I am
 ' very well satisfied, *and so is the* PRINCE
 ' *too*, it would have been so however, for
 ' is capable of doing nothing but
 ' injustice ; therefore rest satisfied, you are
 ' no ways the cause ; and let me beg once
 ' more, for God's sake, that you would
 ' never mention parting more, no nor so
 ' much as think of it ; and if you should
 ' ever leave me, be assured it would break
 ' your faithful MRS. MORLEY's heart.

' Friday morning.

‘ I hope my dear MRS. FREEMAN will
 ‘ come as soon as she can, this afternoon,
 ‘ that we may have as much time together
 ‘ as we can ; I doubt you will think me very
 ‘ unreasonable for saying this, but I really
 ‘ long now to see you again, as much as if
 ‘ I had not been so happy this month.

To LADY MARLBOROUGH.

‘ In obedience to dear MRS. FREEMAN,
 ‘ *I have told the PRINCE all she desired me,*
 ‘ *and he is so far from being of another opi-*
 ‘ *nion, if there had been occasion he would*
 ‘ *have strengthened me in my resolutions, and*
 ‘ *we both beg you would never mention so cru-*
 ‘ *el a thing any more.* Can you think ei-
 ‘ ther of us so wretched that for the sake
 ‘ of twenty thousand pound, and to be tor-
 ‘ mented from morning to night with flat-
 ‘ tering knaves and fools, we should forsake
 ‘ those, we have such obligations to, and
 ‘ that we are so certain we are the occasion
 ‘ of all their misfortunes ? Besides, can you
 ‘ believe we will truckle to who
 ‘ from the first moment of his coming has
 ‘ used

' used us at that rate, as we are sensible he
 ' has done, and that all the world can wit-
 ' nefs, that will not let their interest weigh
 ' more with them, than their reason. But
 ' fuppose I did submit, and that the KING
 ' could change his nature fo much, as to ufe
 ' me with humanity, how would all rea-
 ' sonable people defpife me? How would
 ' laugh at me and please himfelf
 ' with having got the better? And which is
 ' much more, how would my confcience
 ' reproach me for having facrificed it, my
 ' honour, reputation, and all the fubftan-
 ' tial comforts of this life for tranfitory in-
 ' tereft, which, even to thofe who make
 ' it their idol, can never afford any real fa-
 ' tisfaction, much lefs to a virtuous mind :
 ' No, my dear MRS. FREEMAN, never be-
 ' lieve your faithful MRS. MORLEY will
 ' ever fubmit. She can wait with patience
 ' for a fun-fhine day, and if fhe does not
 ' live to fee it, yet fhe hopes England will
 ' flourifh again. Once more give me leave
 ' to beg you would be fo kind never to fpeak
 ' of parting more, for let what will happen,

that is the only thing can make me miserable.

Tuesday morning.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS continued steady in his opinion to the last, notwithstanding that almost all the servants in the family, and especially those whom I had brought into it, were frequently pressing him to have me removed. MY LORD BERKELEY in deed, though I believe he did not know, that he was obliged to me for his employment of groom of the stole, said something very handsome to the PRINCE, (as the PRINCESS told me) to strengthen him in the contrary resolution. But MY LORD LEXINGTON, who was not so ignorant of the service I had done him, made the first return for it, by speaking to the PRINCE *to put her out, who had put him in.*

But of all that happened to me of this kind, nothing surpris'd so much, as the behaviour of MR. MAUL. I had not only brought him to be bed-chamber man to the PRINCE, when he was quite a stranger to
that

that court, but to mend his salary, had invented an employment for him, that of overlooking the PRINCESS's accounts: And I had done this without having been asked to do it. I had indeed a great value for him, and thought him so worthy a man, and so much my friend, that I might safely have trusted to his care my most important concerns. But you will see how extremely I was mistaken. This man never came near me, during that time of trouble. And when I chanced to meet him at Sion, avoided as much as he could, even to make me a bow; apprehending, I believe, that I should ask him to be LORD MARLBOROUGH's bail: Not that I then guess'd this to be his reason; but I thought so afterwards; because, notwithstanding his strange coldness, even to rudeness, as soon as it was known that LORD SHREWSBURY, LORD BURLINGTON, LORD CARBURY, and LORD HALIFAX were to be bail for my LORD MARLBOROUGH, he came to see me, and offered himself for that service, making as if he knew nothing of what was so publick. I thanked him, and told him, LORD

MARLBOROUGH had friends, who would bail him, but that one of his best friends was a paper that lay upon the table, which I had often kissed, *The act of Habeas Corpus.*

But this was not the greatest proof I had of MR. MAUL's ingratitude. He was one of those, who were most urgent with the PRINCE, that he would prevail with the PRINCESS to put me away. For this end he took more pains than ordinary in attending on him. And I cannot help telling a very foolish thing he said to HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, and what one would not have expected from a man that kept good company. The PRINCE one day, after being much pressed by him, on my subject, answered, *That he had so much tenderness for the PRINCESS, that he could not desire to make her so uneasy, as he knew the parting with me would do. And besides, he had done a great deal, and had been very ill used. To which MR. MAUL replied, That it was true HIS HIGHNESS had done a great deal; but if he refused this thing, it was like a cow, that gave a great deal of milk, and then kicked it down.*

Very

Very soon after this eloquent, but unsuccessful pleading of MR. MAUL (who had certainly been employed by MY LORD ROCHESTER) a letter came to the PRINCESS, from his lordship, on occasion of the QUEEN's having forbid people to go to her.

The contents of it were these.

‘ MADAM,

‘ I am afraid, I may be guilty of too
 ‘ great presumption in giving YOUR ROYAL
 ‘ HIGHNESS the trouble of a letter; but I
 ‘ do it with so good intentions, that I hope
 ‘ you cannot be angry with me for it. And
 ‘ now that one is unhappily restrained from
 ‘ the honour of waiting upon YOUR ROYAL
 ‘ HIGHNESS, there is no other way but
 ‘ this to make an offer of my humble duty
 ‘ to you. It is a very uncomfortable reflection
 ‘ for me to make, that being so really
 ‘ concerned, as I am sure I am, for YOUR
 ‘ ROYAL HIGHNESS's happiness, I should
 ‘ be so unfortunate as to be wholly useless
 ‘ to you, at a time, when YOUR ROYAL
 ‘ HIGHNESS cannot but think yourself, that
 ‘ you

' you have use of every body, that are truly
 ' and faithfully your servants. And how-
 ' ever I have been so mistaken in my judg-
 ' ment, as to have never offered any thing
 ' to YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, worth your
 ' approbation, I do, with all humility, sub-
 ' mit my poor opinion to that of YOUR
 ' ROYAL HIGHNESS; but beg you to believe,
 ' it is not flattery to any body else, nor any
 ' other consideration that has made me be
 ' of the mind I was; but only the want
 ' of, a better understanding, to be able to
 ' think of something more for your service.
 ' And being thus incapable of my self to
 ' propose any thing that is agreeable to you,
 ' I take this occasion humbly to offer to
 ' YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS all the little ser-
 ' vice you may judge me fit to be employed
 ' in, and most earnestly to beseech you to
 ' believe, that if I can be of any use in the
 ' world to YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, there
 ' is nothing that I would endeavour with
 ' greater satisfaction to my self, than at this
 ' time to express the great concern, I pre-
 ' sume to say I have, for YOUR ROYAL
 ' HIGH-

HIGHNESS, by any thing that I can do for
 your service. And if any thing I have
 taken the confidence to say be worth
 your taking notice of, the least signifi-
 cation of your pleasure will bring me at all
 times to receive the honour of any of
 your commands; and the duty and zeal
 and passion I have for your true interest
 and prosperity, will, I hope, make some
 amends for the want of a better judg-
 ment and capacity; which I acknowledge
 every body has a greater share of than,

MADAM,

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

most obedient and

most dutiful servant,

ROCHESTER.

I cannot help thinking, that there is
 something very absurd in the *affected mo-*
desty and *profound respectfulness* of this let-
 ter ; where his lordship owns, that every
 body has more judgment and capacity than
 he, and, with all humility, submits his
 poor

poor opinion to that of HER ROYAL HIGHNESS, and, at the same time, lets her know that this *poor opinion*, which he so *submits*, shall entirely *govern* him in his behaviour towards her. And the perfect self approbation he discovers, after lamenting the mistake of his judgment, is no less ridiculous. For he plainly intimates some expectation, that she will send for him again, and confess the wisdom of the senseless advice he had given her. I make no scruple to call his lordship's advice *senseless*. For how unworthy soever he might think me of the extraordinary affection the PRINCESS had for me, he could not hope (unless he were really the simpleton he says he is) that what had lately happened would be a means to cure her of it in any degree : and he must know, that while she retained that affection, she could not part with me, without *extreme unhappiness* to herself. And what had he to propose, as a compensation to her for this unhappiness ? Not the *inward satisfaction*, nor the *outward glory* of having obeyed any law of GOD or of the

the

the land, by removing me from her ; but only the *empty* advantage of putting an end to their MAJESTIES *open* displeasure with her ; a displeasure, which did her no real hurt, and which, being so occasioned as it was, gained her credit with every mortal that had a heart.

The PRINCESS was not imposed upon by his lordship's *duty* or *zeal* or *passion* for her prosperity. She sent him the following answer to his letter.

To the EARL OF ROCHESTER.

‘ I give you many thanks for the compliments and expressions of service which you make me, in your letter ; which I should be much better pleas’d with, than I am, if I had any reason to think them sincere.

‘ It is a great mortification to me, to find, that I still continue under the misfortune of the QUEEN’s displeasure. I had hopes, in time, the occasion of it would have appeared as little reasonable to the QUEEN, as it has always done to me.

' me. And if you would have persuaded
 ' me of the sincerity of your intentions,
 ' as you seem to desire, you must give me
 ' leave to say, I cannot think it very hard
 ' for you to convince me of it, by the ef-
 ' fects. And till then I must beg leave to
 ' be excused, if I am apt to think, this
 ' great mortification, which has been given
 ' me, cannot have proceeded from the
 ' QUEEN's own temper, who, I am per-
 ' suaded, is both more just in herself, than
 ' that comes to, as well as more kind to

Your very affectionate friend,

ANNE.

And now the business of his lordship was
 to make the QUEEN's order to be complied
 with. He took great pains in it himself;
 and all the ladies of the bed-chamber were
 employed either to speak or write to their
 relations and acquaintance. And this mat-
 ter was so well followed, that, at last, the
 QUEEN herself sent to MY LADY GRACE

PIERPOINT, *to desire that she would not go to the PRINCESS; adding, that if she did, she should not come to her, for she would see no body that went to her sister.* MY LADY GRACE'S answer was, *That she thought she owed a respect to the PRINCESS; that she had been civilly treated by her; and that if HER MAJESTY would not allow her to pay her duty to her, she would go no more to the QUEEN, and the oftner to the PRINCESS.*

But this generous example of refusing meanly to submit to an unreasonable order, was followed by very few, except those whom MY LORD MARLBOROUGH and I engaged to pay the PRINCESS all the respect possible. Two or three jacobite ladies also came to her, because (as it was easy to observe) all of that interest rejoiced much at the quarrel.

MY LADY THANET was one of the first, who, like MY LORD ROCHESTER (and I conclude, not without his advice) made her excuse to the PRINCESS by letter. I cannot now find it; but you may guess at the contents of it by the PRINCESS'S answer, which was this.

To

To the dowager COUNTESS OF THANET.

‘ It is no small addition to my unhappiness in the QUEEN’s displeasure, that I am deprived, by it, of the satisfaction of seeing my friends ; especially of such as seem desirous to see me, and to find by those late commands, which HER MAJESTY has given you, that her unkindness to me is to have no end. The only comfort I have in these great hardships, is, to think, how little I have deserved them from the QUEEN. And that thought, I hope, will help me to support them with less impatience.

‘ I am the less surpris’d at the strictness of the QUEEN’s command to you, upon this occasion, since I have found she can be so very unkind to &c.

It was almost a year after this, and when it was of very little use, before LADY THANET first, and then LADY HYDE, came to wait on the PRINCESS. And their visits afterwards were very rare, and only upon extraordinary

traordinary occasions, as a lying-in, or some great illness.

I have already mentioned, beside this prohibition to visit the PRINCESS, the taking away of her guards. And these were not the only methods devised to mortify her. One very ridiculous thing was done with this view, while the PRINCESS was at Bath. The following letter, signed by the EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, secretary of state, was dispatched to the mayor of the town, a tallow-chandler.

SIR,

‘ The QUEEN has been informed that
 ‘ yourself and your brethren have attended
 ‘ the PRINCESS with the same respect and
 ‘ ceremony, as have been usually pay’d to
 ‘ the ROYAL FAMILY. Perhaps you may
 ‘ not have heard what occasion HER MA-
 ‘ JESTY has had to be displeased with the
 ‘ PRINCESS. And therefore I am com-
 ‘ manded to acquaint you, that you are not
 ‘ for the future to pay HER HIGHNESS any
 ‘ such respect or ceremony, without leave

G

from

from HER MAJESTY, who does not doubt
 of receiving from you, and your brethren,
 this public mark of your duty. I am

Your most humble servant,

NOTTINGHAM.

The KING being abroad when this letter was writ, and the QUEEN being at that time wholly in MY LORD ROCHESTER'S hands, every body concluded, that it was done by his advice. And I am myself the more fully persuaded of it, from the fondness he discovered for such sort of pageantry, when (in the beginning of QUEEN ANNE'S reign) he made his progress, in those parts, and took pains in begging treats, and speeches, from such sort of people. But it must be owned, that his lordship had a singular taste for trifling ceremonies. I remember, when he was treasurer, he made his white staff be carried by his chair-side, by a servant bare-headed; in this, among other things, so very unlike his successor, MY LORD GODOLPHIN, who cut his white staff shorter than ordinary, that he might

hide

hide it, by taking it into the chair with him.

But if MY LORD ROCHESTER believed, as I am persuaded he did, that this order to the mayor of Bath, would have great weight with the PRINCESS, you will see by a short letter from her to me, on the occasion, how much he was disappointed.

To LADY MARLBOROUGH.

‘ Dear MRS. FREEMAN must give me
‘ leave to ask her, if any thing has hap-
‘ pened to make her uneasy. I thought
‘ she looked to night, as if she had the
‘ spleen. And I can’t help being in pain
‘ whenever I see her so.

‘ I fancied yesterday, when the mayor
‘ failed in the ceremony of going to church
‘ with me, that he was commanded not to
‘ do it. I think ’tis a thing to be laughed
‘ at. And, if they imagine either to vex
‘ me or gain upon me by such sort of usage,
‘ they will be mightily disappointed. And
‘ I hope these foolish things they do, will
‘ every day show people more and more,
‘ what they are, and that they truly deserve

‘ the name your faithful MORLEY has given them.’

Another foolish thing, that was done by the same advice, as I suppose, was sending to the minister of St. James’s church, where the PRINCESS used to go (while she lived at Berkeley house) to forbid them to lay the text upon her cushion, or take any more notice of her than of other people. But the minister refusing to obey without some order from the crown in writing, which they did not care to give, that noble design dropt.

After all these notable efforts to subdue the PRINCESS had been employed without success, and when we were got again, as I thought, into a settled, quiet way, at Berkeley house, MY LORD ROCHESTER attempted once more to bring about his purpose, by a stratagem. He came to SIR BENJAMIN BATHURST, and to others of the PRINCESS’s family, insinuating to them, *that if the PRINCESS would put me away, he was persuaded, the QUEEN would in some time be prevailed upon to let her take me again*; which was altogether improbable, and indeed ridiculous; because my only pretended

tended fault was being MY LORD MARLBOROUGH's wife, a fault which I could neither excuse, nor extenuate, nor repent of.

The PRINCESS considered this project as nothing more than a new civil plot of MY LORD ROCHESTER's. However she was resolved to leave nothing undone on her part; and therefore, knowing that MY LADY FITZHARDING could speak more freely to the QUEEN than any body else, whom she could employ, she sent for her and repeated to her MY LORD ROCHESTER's proposal, desiring her to acquaint the QUEEN, *that from what his lordship had said, she had been flattering herself, she had mistaken HER MAJESTY's last words; and that if she might hope his lordship had any ground for his opinion, she should be very ready to give HER MAJESTY any satisfaction of that sort.* Upon the delivery of this message, the QUEEN fell into a great passion, and said, *her sister had not mistaken her, for she never would see her, upon any other terms, than parting with me, not for a time, but for ever, adding, that she was a QUEEN and would be obeyed.* Which fine sentence, MY LADY FITZHARDING confessed,

the QUEEN repeated several times in their conversation ; and her ladyship seemed to find great fault with the QUEEN's manner of speaking upon that occasion ; though excepting this time, my lady appeared to be a very good courtier.

The PRINCESS, after this, continued at Berkeley house in a very quiet way. For there was nothing more to be done, unless they would stop her revenue, which doubtless they would have attempted, had they thought it practicable. But MY LORD GODOLPHIN was then first commissioner of the Treasury, a man esteemed very useful to the service, and who, they knew, would quit upon any such orders. And they could not easily have found a person with qualities fit for that employment, who would have thought it consistent with his honour or safety to take a place, which another had left upon such an account ; and at the same time refuse paying the revenue settled by an act of parliament on the next heir to the crown.

I remember nothing more that happened of any moment relating to this disagreement, till just before the QUEEN's death.

I shall only observe, that notwithstanding all the harsh things done to the PRINCE

and

and PRINCESS, they never failed in the least thing, which their friends thought proper for them to do, to show respect to the KING and QUEEN.

Particularly, on the KING's return from Flanders, the PRINCE sent one of his family to present his humble duty to HIS MAJESTY, and to acquaint him, *That the PRINCESS having had the misfortune, during his absence, to receive many publick marks of the QUEEN's displeasure, he did not know whether it were proper for him to come to HIS MAJESTY, as formerly, without endeavouring first to receive HIS MAJESTY's commands, and to know how far it might be agreeable to him.*

The DUKE OF GLOUCESTER also waited several times on HER MAJESTY, who made a great show of kindness to him, and gave him rattles, and several play-things, which were constantly put down in the gazette. And whenever the DUKE was sick, she sent a bed-chamber woman to Camden-house to enquire how he did. But this compliment was made in so offensive a manner to the PRINCESS, that I have often wondred how any mortal could bear it with the patience she

did. For whoever was sent, used to come without any ceremony into the room, where the PRINCESS herself was, and, passing by her, as she stood or sat, without taking more notice of her, than if she were a rocker, go directly up to the DUKE, and make their speech to him, or to the nurse, as he lay in her lap.

I believe it will be allowed, that there was a good deal of insolence and ill-breeding in this behaviour; and that the QUEEN might, with safety to all her dignity, have found means to satisfy herself about the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER's health, without suffering to be done to the PRINCESS, what no body before ever thought of, and what no private person in this country would bear from another. And yet the return, which the PRINCESS, when she came to the crown, made to this rudeness of the QUEEN's women, was to give them pensions; a thing which the KING himself grew weary of doing some time before he died.

For several months before QUEEN MARY fell sick of the small-pox, the PRINCESS, thinking

thinking herself with child, staid constantly on one floor, by her physicians advice, lying very much upon a couch to prevent the misfortune of miscarrying. However upon the news of the QUEEN's dangerous indisposition, she sent a lady of her bed-chamber to present her humble duty to her, and to desire *that HER MAJESTY would believe she was extremely concerned for her illness: adding, that if HER MAJESTY would allow her the happiness of waiting on her, she would, notwithstanding the condition she was in, run any hazard for that satisfaction.*

This message was delivered to LADY DERBY, who, having carried it in to HER MAJESTY, came out again some time after, and said, *That the KING would send an answer the next day.* Accordingly MY LADY DERBY then wrote to the same lady, who had brought the message, the following lines.

MADAM,

‘ I am commanded by the KING and
 ‘ QUEEN to tell you, they desire you would
 ‘ let the PRINCESS know they both thank her
 ‘ for sending and desiring to come: But, it
 ‘ being thought so necessary to keep the
 ‘ QUEEN

‘ QUEEN as quiet as possible, hope she will
 ‘ defer it. I am,

MADAM,

Your ladyship’s

most humble servant,

E. DERBY.

‘ Pray, madam, present my humble duty to
 ‘ the PRINCESS.

This civil answer, and MY LADY DERBY’S postscript, made me conclude, more than if the college of physicians had told it me, that the disease was mortal. And as I knew that several people, and even one of the PRINCESS’S own family, were allowed to see the QUEEN, I was also fully persuaded, that the deferring the PRINCESS’S coming was only to leave room for continuing the quarrel, in case the QUEEN should chance to recover, or for reconciliation with the KING, (if that should be thought convenient) in case of the QUEEN’S death.

During all the time of the QUEEN’S illness to her decease, the PRINCESS sent every day to enquire how she did; and once, I am sure, HER MAJESTY heard of it; be-
 cause

cause MY LADY FITZHARDING, who was charged with the message, and who had more desire than ordinary to see the QUEEN, broke in, whether they would or not, and delivered it to her, endeavouring to express in how much concern the PRINCESS was; to which the QUEEN returned no answer but a cold thanks. Nor, though she received the sacrament in her illness, did she ever send the least message to the PRINCESS, except that in MY LADY DERBY's letter, which perhaps HER MAJESTY knew nothing of.

How this conduct to a sister could suit with the character of a devout QUEEN, I am at a loss to know. For there is nothing more plain in scripture, than the *vth chapter* of St. Matthew, *vs* 23, and 24. *Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there remembrest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.*

I will suppose, for argument sake, (though I think it scarce possible) that the QUEEN might have so wrong an understanding, as

to

to think, she had no reparation to make, and that the PRINCESS had injured her, in not being her slave : yet, even in that case, there was something omitted ; for we are taught *to forgive the trespasses against us, as we expect to be forgiven.*

Upon the death of the QUEEN, the PRINCESS, by advice of MY LORD SUNDERLAND and others, wrote the following letter to the KING.

‘ S I R,

‘ I beg YOUR MAJESTY’s favourable acceptance of my sincere and hearty sorrow
 ‘ for your great affliction in the loss of the
 ‘ QUEEN. And I do assure YOUR MAJES-
 ‘ TY, I am as sensibly touched with this sad
 ‘ misfortune, as if I had never been so un-
 ‘ happy, as to have fallen into her displea-
 ‘ sure.

‘ It is my earnest desire, YOUR MAJESTY
 ‘ would give me leave to wait upon you, as
 ‘ soon as it can be without inconveniency
 ‘ to you, and without danger of encreasing
 ‘ your affliction, that I may have an op-
 ‘ portunity

opportunity myself, not only of repeating
 this, but of assuring YOUR MAJESTY of
 my real intentions to omit no occasion of
 giving you constant proofs of my sincere
 respect and concern for your person and
 interest, as becomes,

S I R,

YOUR MAJESTY'S

most affectionate sister

and servant,

ANNE.

The KING had sense enough to know,
 that it would be impossible to continue any
 longer an open difference with the PRINCESS,
 without exposing himself to daily slights,
 and a manifest disregard for his sovereign
 pleasure; for he could not hope that the
 nobility of England would be hindered, now
 the QUEEN was dead, from paying respect
 to a PRINCESS, who was next heir to him
 by act of parliament, and who, if title by
 blood had taken place, would have had the
 crown before him; and he was well aware,
 that every body, who had a mind to shew

they did not care for him, would certainly do it by making their court to her.

Quickly after this letter therefore, the PRINCESS, with the KING's consent, and at a time which he appointed, waited on him at Kensington, and was received with extraordinary civility.

And now, it being publicly known, that the quarrel was made up, nothing was to be seen but crouds of people, of all sorts, flocking to Berkeley house, to pay their respects to the PRINCE and PRINCESS: a sudden alteration, which, I remember, occasioned the half-witted LORD CAERNARVON to say one night to the PRINCESS, as he stood close by her, in the circle, *I hope YOUR HIGHNESS will remember that I came to wait upon you, when none of this company did*; which caused a great deal of mirth.

I never heard of any body that opposed this reconciliation, except MY LORD PORTLAND. But the person who wholly managed the affair between the KING and PRINCESS, was MY LORD SUNDERLAND. He had, upon all occasions relating to her, shew-

ed himself a man of sense and breeding ; and before there was any thought of the QUEEN's dying had designed to use his utmost endeavours to make up the breach ; in which however I am persuaded, he could not have succeeded during the QUEEN's life. Her death made it easy to him (for the reasons I have mentioned) to bring the KING to a reconciliation ; and he also persuaded HIS MAJESTY to give the PRINCESS St. James's-house.

But this and some other favours granted her, at his lordship's request, were only to save appearances, and for political views. It was very evident that the KING did not care, any real respect should be shewn to HER HIGHNESS. For though to his death she never omitted any thing that was due to him from her, and, by his order, went several times to wait on him at Kensington, no ceremony was observed to her, more than to any other lady ; till the thing had caused some discourse in town. After which MY LORD JERSEY waited upon her down stairs once or twice, but not oftner.

If

If any body ever came to meet her, it was a page of the back-stairs, or some person whose face was not known. And the PRINCESS, upon these occasions, has waited an hour and half, just upon the same foot with the rest of the company ; and not the least excuse was made for it.

I confess, for my own part, that in the point of *respect to the KING (and to the QUEEN when living)* I thought the PRINCESS did a great deal too much ; and it often made me very uneasy. For I could not endure to have her do any thing, that I would not have done in her place. And all the friends I ever had in my life would not have prevailed with me to make any one step, the PRINCESS did, during the quarrel, except the first letter she wrote to the QUEEN, and the last message of offering to come to her in her sickness. But a letter which the PRINCESS, after the reconciliation, wrote to the KING upon the taking of Namur, gave me, I think, more concern than any other instance of her *respectfulness* ; though it was advised by three lords, whose
judg-

judgments all the world valued. It ran thus.

S I R,

‘ Though I have been unwilling to give
 ‘ you the trouble of a letter upon any other
 ‘ occasion, yet upon one so glorious to YOUR
 ‘ MAJESTY as the taking of Namur, I
 ‘ hope you will give me leave to congratu-
 ‘ late your good success, which don’t please
 ‘ me so much upon any other account, as
 ‘ for the satisfaction, that I am sensible YOUR
 ‘ MAJESTY must needs feel in this great
 ‘ addition to the reputation of your arms.
 ‘ And I beg leave, SIR, to assure you, that
 ‘ as no body is more nearly concerned in
 ‘ your interests, so no body wishes more
 ‘ heartily for your happiness and prosperity
 ‘ at home than

‘ Your &c.

ANNE.

This letter (which seemed to me so un-
 becoming the PRINCESS to write) served no
 other purpose but to give the KING an op-
 H opportunity

portunity of shewing his brutal disregard for the writer; for he never returned any answer to it, nor so much as a civil message.

YOUR LORDSHIP has had some specimens of the manner, in which HIS MAJESTY treated the PRINCE OF DENMARK before the quarrel. I shall now give you one, of his behaviour to him after the reconciliation.

The KING's birth-day coming just after the news of the KING OF DENMARK's death, the PRINCE, who had a great tenderness for his brother, was extremely uneasy at the thought of putting on colours so soon. And the PRINCESS, knowing that it had been the custom in former reigns, to wait upon the KING, on a birth-day, without coloured clothes, when the mourning was very deep, found means to get my LORD ALBEMARLE to ask the KING's leave, that the PRINCE might be admitted, in his mourning, to wish HIS MAJESTY joy. The answer was, *That the KING would not see him, unless he came in colours*, and the PRINCE was persuaded to comply, though he did it with great uneasiness.

I believe I could fill as many sheets, as I have already written, with relating the brutalities, that were done to the PRINCE and PRINCESS in that reign. The KING was indeed so ill-natured and so little polished by education, that neither in great things nor in small had he the manners of a gentleman. I shall give you an instance of his worse than vulgar behaviour at his own table, when the PRINCESS dined with him.

It was in the beginning of his reign, and when she was with child of the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER. There happened to be a plate of pease, the first that had been seen that year. The KING, without offering the PRINCESS the least share of them, eat them every one up himself. Whether he offered any to the QUEEN, I cannot say; but he might do that safely enough, for he knew, she durst not touch them. The PRINCESS confessed, when she came home, she had so much mind to the pease, that she was afraid to look at them, and yet could hardly keep her eyes off them.

But I shall conclude this subject of the KING's conduct towards the PRINCESS, with some facts of a deeper concern to her than those incivilities I have just mentioned, and they will shew how rightly she judged, when she formerly refused to leave the affair of her maintenance to his generosity.

When the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER was arrived at the age, to be put into men's hands, the KING insinuated to such members of the parliament, as he knew were desirous to have the DUKE handsomly settled, that it would require near 50000 *l.* a year. And, at the same time, he promised other persons, whom he knew it would please, that he would pay QUEEN MARY in France her settlement, which was also 50000 *l.* a year. And these steps he took, in order to obtain an addition of a 100000 *l.* a year to his civil list.

The addition was granted, yet he never paid one shilling to the QUEEN : and, as to the DUKE, the KING not only kept him in women's hands a good while after the new revenue was granted, but, when his HIGH-

NESS'

NESS's family was settled, would give him no more than 15000 *l.* a year. Nay, of this small allowance, he refused to advance one quarter, though it was absolutely wanted to buy plate and furniture : so that the PRINCESS was forced to be at that expence herself.

But this was not all. The KING (influenced, I suppose, in this particular, by MY LORD SUNDERLAND) sent the PRINCESS word, that, though he intended to put in all the preceptors, he would leave it to her to chuse the rest of the servants except one, who was to be deputy governor and gentleman of the DUKE's bed-chamber, (which was MR. SAYERS.)

This message was so humane, and of so different an air from any thing the PRINCESS had been used to, that it gave her an extreme pleasure ; and she immediately set herself to provide proper persons, and of the most consideration, for the several places. MR. BOSCAWEN and secretary VERNON's son were to be grooms of the bed-chamber ; the sons of the EARLS OF BRIDGEWATER and

BERKELEY were to be pages of honour, and so on. In the mean time the KING was in no haste to finish the affair of the DUKE's establishment; and a little before he left England to go make the campaign, told MY LORD MARLBOROUGH, (who was now restored to the army, and was to be governor to the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER) *that he would send a list, from abroad, of the servants he would have in the DUKE's family,* not in the least regarding the former message, he had sent to the PRINCESS; which my lord observing, took the liberty to put HIS MAJESTY in mind of it, adding, that the PRINCESS, upon the credit of that message, had engaged her promises to several persons; and that, not to be able to perform those promises, would be so great a mortification, as he hoped HIS MAJESTY would not give her, at a time, when any thing of trouble might do her prejudice, she being then with child. Hereupon the KING fell into a great passion, and said, *she should not be QUEEN before her time, and he would make the list of what servants the DUKE should have.*

The

The KING was so peremptory, that MY LORD MARLBOROUGH could say no more, and had no expedient left, but to get MY LORD ALBEMARLE to try to bring him to reason ; which his lordship promised to do. And accordingly he took MY LORD MARLBOROUGH's list of the persons the PRINCESS had chosen, and carried it with him into Holland. In conclusion that list was approved, with very few alterations. But this was, without question, not so much owing to the KING's goodness, or MY LORD ALBEMARLE's persuasions, (though I believe his lordship did take pains in this matter) as to the happy choice the PRINCESS had made of the servants. For the KING, upon cool consideration, must perceive, that he could not strike out of the list a greater number than he did, without hurting himself, more than the PRINCESS. He only made MY LORD RABY's brother an equerry, and appointed, to be gentlemen-waiters, two or three persons, who had served the late QUEEN in such like stations, and had pensions on that account. And it was to save this money

that the KING did so ungentleman-like a thing, as to force the PRINCESS to fail in some of her engagements. And he gave afterwards another remarkable proof of his good management; for upon the news of the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER's death, he sent orders, by the very first post, to have all his servants discarded; a diligence of frugality, which was surely not very decent in a KING. It was by the contrivance of LORD MARLBOROUGH, assisted by LORD ALBEMARLE, that the servants received their salaries to the quarter-day after the DUKE died.

And now, after all I have related of the KING, and after so much dislike, as I have expressed of his character and conduct, you will perhaps hardly believe me, in what I am going to say: Yes, YOUR LORDSHIP *will* believe me; for you will judge of *my* heart, by the make and temper of your *own*. When the KING came to die, I felt nothing of that satisfaction, which I once thought I should have had upon this occasion. And MY LORD and LADY JERSEY's writing and
 sending

sending perpetually to give an account, as his breath grew shorter and shorter, filled me with horror. I thought I would lose the best employment in any court, sooner than act so odious a part. And the KING, who had given me so much cause to hate him, in that condition I sincerely pitied: so little is it in my nature to retain resentment against any mortal, (how unjust soever he may have been) in whom *the will to injure* is no more.

§ II.

THE KING died, and the PRINCESS OF DENMARK took his place. This elevation of my mistress to the throne brought me into a new scene of life, and into a new sort of consideration with all those, whose attention, either by curiosity or ambition, was turned to politicks and the court. Hitherto my favour with HER ROYAL HIGHNESS, though it had sometimes furnished matter of conversation to the publick, had been of no moment to the affairs of the nation,

tion, she herself having no share in the councils, by which they were managed. But from this time I began to be looked upon as a person of consequence, without whose approbation, at least, neither places, nor pensions, nor honours were bestowed by the crown. The intimate friendship, with which the QUEEN was known to honour me, afforded a plausible foundation for this opinion : And I believe therefore, it will be a surprize to many, to be told, that the first important step, which HER MAJESTY took, after her accession to the government, was against my wishes and inclinations: I mean, *her throwing herself and her affairs almost intirely into the hands of the tories.*

I shall dwell the longer, and be the more particular upon the subject of my disagreement with HER MAJESTY about parties, that I may expose the injustice of those whigs, who, after the great change in 1710, accused me of being the ruin of their cause ; a cause, that, in her reign, would have been always too low, to be capable of a fall, but for the zeal and diligence, with which I
 seiz'd

feiz'd every opportunity to raise and establish it; which, in the end, proved the ruin of my favour with HER MAJESTY.

The QUEEN had from her infancy imbibed the most unconquerable prejudices against the whigs. She had been taught to look upon them all, not only as republicans, who hated the very shadow of regal authority, but as implacable enemies to the church of England. This aversion to the whole party had been confirmed by the ill usage she had met with from her sister and KING WILLIAM, which though perhaps more owing to LORD ROCHESTER, than to any man then living, was now to be all charged to the account of the whigs. And PRINCE GEORGE, her husband, who had also been ill treated, in that reign, threw into the scale his resentments.

On the other hand, the tories had the advantage, not only of the QUEEN's early prepossession in their favour, but of their having assisted her in the late reign, in the affair of her *settlement*. It was indeed evident, that they had done this, more in opposition
to

to KING WILLIAM, than from any real respect for the PRINCESS OF DENMARK. But still they had served her. And the winter before she came to the crown, they had in the same spirit of opposition to the KING, and in prospect of his death, paid her more than usual civilities and attendance.

It is no great wonder therefore, all these things considered, that as soon as she was seated in the throne, the tories (whom she usually called by the agreeable name of the church-party) became the distinguished objects of the royal favour.

DR. SHARP, archbishop of York, was pitched upon by herself to preach her coronation sermon, and to be her chief counsellor in church-matters; and her privy-council was filled with tories. MY LORD NORMANBY (soon after DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM) the EARLS OF JERSEY and NOTTINGHAM, SIR EDWARD SEYMOUR, with many others of the high-fliers, were brought into place; SIR NATHAN WRIGHT was continued in possession of the great seal of England, and the EARL OF ROCHESTER in the lieutenancy of Ireland.

Ireland. These were men, who had all a wonderful zeal for the church; a sort of public merit that eclipsed all other in the eyes of the QUEEN. And I am firmly persuaded, that notwithstanding her extraordinary affection for me, and the entire devotion which MY LORD MARLBOROUGH and MY LORD GODOLPHIN had for many years shown to her service, they would not have had so great a share of her favour and confidence, if they had not been reckoned in the number of the tories.

The truth is, though both these lords had always the real interest of the nation at heart, and had given proof of this, by their conduct in their several employments, in the late reign, they had been educated in the persuasion, that the high-church party were the best friends to the constitution, both of church and state; nor were they perfectly undeceived but by experience.

For my own part, I had not the same prepossessions. The *word* CHURCH had never any charm for *me*, in the mouths of those, who made the most noise with it;
for

for I could not perceive that they gave any other distinguishing proof of their regard for the *thing*, than a frequent use of the *word*, like a spell to enchant weak minds; and a persecuting zeal against dissenters, and against those real friends of the church, who would not admit that *persecution* was agreeable to it's doctrine. And as to state-affairs, many of these churchmen seemed to me, to have no fixed principles at all, having endeavoured, during the last reign, to undermine that very government, which they had contributed to establish.

I was heartily sorry therefore, that, for the sake of such churchmen, others should be removed from their employments, who had been firm to the principles of the Revolution, and whom I thought much more likely to support the QUEEN, and promote the welfare of our country, than the wrong-headed politicians that succeeded them.

I resolved therefore, from the very beginning of the QUEEN'S reign, to try whether I could not by degrees make impressions in her mind more favourable to the whigs;

whigs; and though my instances with her had not at first any considerable effect, I believe, I may venture to say, it was, in some measure, owing to them, that HER MAJESTY did, against her own inclinations, continue several of this party in office. And it is well known, that when the QUEEN, in the first year of her reign, had determined to create four new peers, the LORDS GRANVILLE, GUERNSEY, GOWER and CONWAY, I prevailed that MR. HERVEY (the present EARL OF BRISTOL) might be a *fifth*, in spite of the opposition of the tories, and especially of the *four* above-named; who for a while refused to accept of the peerage, if MR. HERVEY, a whig, were admitted to the same honour.

But how difficult a task I prescribed to myself, when I undertook to moderate HER MAJESTY'S partiality to the tories, and to engage her to a better opinion of their opposites, will abundantly appear from the following letter, which I had the honour to receive from her, about half a year after her accession to the throne.

St.

St. James's, saturday the 24 Oct.

‘ I am very glad to find by my dear MRS.
 ‘ FREEMAN’s, that I was blest with yef-
 ‘ terday, that she liked *my speech*, but I can-
 ‘ not help being extremely concerned, you
 ‘ are so partial to the whigs, because I would
 ‘ not have you, and your * poor, unfor-
 ‘ tunate, faithful MORLEY differ in opinion
 ‘ in the least thing. What I said, when
 ‘ I writ last upon this subject, does not pro-
 ‘ ceed from any insinuations of the other
 ‘ party; but I know the principles of the
 ‘ church of England, and I know those of
 ‘ the whigs, and it is that, and no other
 ‘ reason, which makes me think as I do,
 ‘ of the last. And upon my word, my dear
 ‘ MRS. FREEMAN, you are mightily mis-
 ‘ taken in your notion of a true whig: For
 ‘ the character, you give of them, does not
 ‘ in the least belong to them, but to the
 ‘ church. But I will say no more on this

* The QUEEN began to stile herself after this man-
 ner, upon the death of the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

‘ subject,

' subject, only beg, for my poor sake, that
 ' you would not show more countenance to
 ' those, you seem to have so much inclina-
 ' tion for, than to the church party. Since
 ' you have staid so long at Windsor, I wish
 ' now for your own sake, that you would
 ' stay till after *my lord mayor's day*; for if
 ' you are in town, *you can't avoid going to*
 ' *the show*, and being in the country is a just
 ' excuse; and, I think, one would be glad
 ' of any to avoid so troublesom a business.
 ' I am at this time in great haste, and
 ' therefore can say no more to my dear dear
 ' MRS. FREEMAN, but that I am most pas-
 ' sionately her's *.

* The QUEEN very seldom dated her letters fully,
 and the year is not mentioned in the date of this, but
 it is evident from the contents, that it was written in
 1702, the first year of HER MAJESTY'S reign; for she
 went that year to my lord mayor's show, and nothing
 but *her* going could have made it unavoidable for *me*
 to go, if I were in town. And whoever will give them-
 selves the trouble of the enquiry, will find that the
 24th of October fell that year on a saturday, and that
 the QUEEN made her speech to the parliament a few
 days before.

As my early zeal for the whigs is incontestably manifest from what HER MAJESTY here says to me, so, I think, it will be no less evident to any one who reflects on my situation at that time, that this zeal could proceed from nothing but conviction of the goodness of the cause I espoused.

For, as to private interest, the whigs could have done nothing for my advantage more than the tories. I needed not the assistance of either to ingratiate me with the QUEEN. She had both before and since her accession, given the most unquestionable proofs, that she considered me, not only as a most faithful servant, but as her dear friend. I have mentioned nothing of her extreme goodness to me since the breaking out of the quarrel between her sister and her, that I might not interrupt the relation of that matter in which my chief aim was the justification of my mistress's conduct and my own upon that occasion. Her letters to me afterwards (of which I have great numbers still by me) were in the same strain of tenderness as those you have read; and upon her

I

coming

coming to the crown, she had not only made me her groom of the stole, and keeper of the privy purse, but had given the command of the army to MY LORD MARLBOROUGH, and the treasurer's staff to MY LORD GODOLPHIN, to whose son my eldest daughter was married.

It is plain therefore that I could have no motive of private interest to bias me to the whigs. Every body must see, that, had I consulted that oracle about the choice of a party, it would certainly have directed me to go with the stream of my mistress's inclination and prejudices. This would have been the surest way to secure my favour with her.

Nor had I any particular obligations to the whigs that should bend me to their side rather than to the other. On the contrary, they had treated me very hardly, and I had reason to look upon them as my personal enemies, at the same time that I saw the Tories ready to compliment me, and to pay me court. Even the pride of MY LORD ROCHESTER condescended to write me a very fine

piece, when MY LADY CHARLOTTE BEVERWAERT died, that his daughter, MY LADY DALKEITH, might be a lady of the bed-chamber in her place. I confess indeed, I was not a little surpris'd at this application from his lordship. I thank GOD, I have had experience enough of my own temper to be very sure, I can forgive any injury, when the person, from whom I have received it, shows any thing like repentance. But could I ever be so unfortunate, as to persecute another without cause, as MY LORD ROCHESTER did me, I am confident, that even want of bread could not induce me to ask a favour of that person. But surely his lordship had something very uncommon in his temper.

What induced him to the present condescension, was, I suppose, his late experience, that I did not make use of my influence with the QUEEN, to gratify any personal pique or resentment. For upon the QUEEN'S accession to the throne, LADY HYDE had spoke to me, that she might be a lady of the bed-chamber, and I had served her

I

very

very sincerely and effectually. For though the QUEEN did not like her, yet, as HER MAJESTY had been pleased to forgive the ill behaviour of MY LORD ROCHESTER to her, during the reigns of KING CHARLES, KING JAMES, and QUEEN MARY, I thought it reasonable that his son's wife should be a lady of the bed-chamber. There was, in truth, a particular pleasure in serving MY LADY HYDE in this instance on her own account; for in my life I never saw any mortal have such a passion for any thing, as she had to be in that post. While the thing was depending, she had so much concern upon her, that she never spoke to me upon the subject without blushing. And after it was granted, she made me more expressions, than ever I had from any body on any occasion. Among other compliments, I had this letter from her.

Monday morning.

‘ I have been three times in the drawing room, in hopes to meet your ladyship there, that I might myself tell you, how extreme sensible I am of your ladyship’s
I 3 ‘ favour

' favour to me. You will add another, if
 ' you will forgive my impatience, that can-
 ' not stay longer without thanking you my-
 ' self, though MRS. LOWTHER has under-
 ' taken for me. I am very happy in my re-
 ' quest being granted, and your ladyship
 ' may depend, any command of your's shall
 ' be obeyed, for I will not, without your
 ' leave, brag even to MY LADY HARRIOTTE,
 ' who did me the favour to speak to your
 ' ladyship. I am not good at saying much,
 ' but I am sure it will be a pleasure to me
 ' to shew you in every thing I can, how
 ' faithfully and sincerely I am

Your ladyship's humble servant,

J. HYDE.

In what manner this lady treated me afterwards, is not worth the while to mention.

As to MY LORD ROCHESTER's request in behalf of MY LADY DALKEITH, it could not be granted ; because in reality there was no vacancy. The QUEEN had resolved to have no more than ten ladies, and the number was complete. There had indeed been
 eleven

eleven for some short time; but this had been occasioned by the DUCHESS OF SOMERSET's declining to accept one of these places when it was offered her at the settling of the QUEEN's family, and soon after desiring to have it, when they were all filled. As she was the first protestant DUCHESS of England I persuaded the QUEEN to be pleased, in compliment to her grace, to have eleven ladies for the little time LADY CHARLOTTE BEVERWAERT had to live, who was then irrecoverably ill. So that when HER MAJESTY complied, it was with full purpose that the number of her ladies should be only ten after LADY CHARLOTTE's death. And this answer having been given to several others who had solicited to succeed LADY CHARLOTTE, MY LORD ROCHESTER could have no reason to be offended, that the like excuse was made to him, with regard to his daughter.

I have been the more particular on this affair, that it may appear, the refusal MY LORD ROCHESTER met with was not owing to any resentment of mine, against him or

his family. And I do assure you most sincerely, that I could so entirely have forgotten all his lordship's ill treatment of me, as to have acted in concert and friendship with him, if I had thought he would have followed the QUEEN's true interest. But the gibberish of that party about non-resistance and passive-obedience and hereditary right, I could not think to forebode any good to my mistress, whose title rested upon a different foundation. On the other hand, the principles professed by those called whigs seemed to me rational, entirely tending to the preservation of the liberties of the subject, and no way to the prejudice of the church as by law established ; for which, I believe I may without vanity venture to say, I had at least as much respect, as the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM or SIR EDWARD SEYMOUR. And as this was really my way of thinking concerning the two parties, it would have been contrary to the frankness of my temper and to the obligations of that friendship with which the QUEEN honoured me, not to have told her my sentiments without reserve,

reserve. Nay I had her exprefs command fo to do. She had often urged me to it, in almoft the fame terms ſhe uſes in a letter of her own hand-writing, which I have now before me.

‘ You can never give me any greater
 ‘ proof of your friendship than in telling
 ‘ me your mind freely in all things, which
 ‘ I do beg you to do, &c.

I did therefore ſpeak very freely and very frequently to HER MAJESTY upon the ſubject of whig and tory, according to my conception of their different views and principles. It was at firſt to little effect: and perhaps I ſhould never have ſucceeded ſo far as I did, if the leaders of the tories had not, by the heat and agitation with which they over-acted their part, expoſed that monopolizing ambition, which ought to have been better concealed under the cloak of zeal for the church.

The church of England, one would naturally think, could not be in any *immediate*
 danger

danger of perishing under the care of such *anursing mother* as the QUEEN, whose affection to it was never doubted, and who, for it's better security, had chosen it's most renowned champions to be of her ministry and council. Nevertheless in the very first new parliament, after HER MAJESTY'S accession, it was thought necessary with all diligence to provide new strength, new supports for this flourishing church, as if it had been in the most tottering and declining condition.

One cannot better represent the noble spirit, with which the zealots began their play than by transcribing some part of the commons address to the QUEEN, in answer to her most gracious speech at the opening of the sessions.

—‘ YOUR MAJESTY has been always
 ‘ a most illustrious ornament to this church,
 ‘ and has been exposed to great hazards for
 ‘ it, and therefore we promise our selves,
 ‘ that, in YOUR MAJESTY'S reign, we
 ‘ shall see it perfectly restored to it's due
 ‘ rights

‘ rights and privileges, and secured in the
 ‘ same to posterity; which is only to be done
 ‘ by divesting those men of the power, who
 ‘ have shown they want not the will to
 ‘ destroy it.

The QUEEN in her speech had declared her resolution to defend and maintain the church as by law established. Of *this* they tell her they have no doubt, after her repeated assurances. But this was not enough. So illustrious an ornament of the church must not content herself with protecting it in it's *legal* rights, but she must contribute to restore it to it's due rights, that is, she must restore tories and high-churchmen to their *divine* rights and privileges of possessing all the civil offices in the state, and being the only men elected to serve in parliament, to the exclusion of all whigs and low-churchmen, who being enemies of the church, and having a will to destroy it, must be divested of the power to execute their malice.

That

That this was the meaning of the address I believe no body doubts; and the *occasional conformity bill*, which, in consequence of this zeal for the church, was soon brought into parliament, did not aim at excluding from employments the *occasional* conformists only, but all those *constant* conformists too, who could not relish the high-church nonsense of promoting religion by persecution. For as the tories were well acquainted with HER MAJESTY'S entire devotion to the church, they designed this *bill*, as a *test*, whereby she might certainly distinguish it's friends from it's foes; and they doubted not but she would reckon among the latter whoever should oppose so religious a scheme.

The bill, as every body knows, was carried triumphantly through the house of commons; and the PRINCE OF DENMARK (though himself an occasional conformist) was persuaded to vote for it, in the house of lords. However it miscarried there (I forget how, to the great disappointment and mortification of the party. Nay it began to be suspected that some of the chief men at court were
not

not so zealous in the good cause as they should be. MY LORD ROCHESTER was, I think, the first of the tory leaders that discovered a deep discontent with the QUEEN and her administration. Before the end of the year he resigned the lieutenancy of Ireland in great wrath, upon HER MAJESTY'S being so unreasonable as to press him to go thither to attend the affairs of that kingdom, which greatly needed his presence. For as the revenue, which had been formerly granted was out, it was necessary to call a parliament in order to another supply ; and a parliament could not be held without a lord lieutenant. But when the QUEEN represented these things to him he told her with great insolence, that *he would not go into Ireland, though she would give the country to him and his son* ; so that he seems to have accepted the post only that he might reign in Ireland by the ministry of his brother KEIGHTLEY, as he hoped to do in England, in person. Nor could he, after his resignation, overcome his anger so far as to wait upon the QUEEN or to go
to

to council; which she observing ordered, after some time, that he should no more be summoned, saying, ‘ it was not reasonable ‘ MY LORD ROCHESTER should come to ‘ council only when he pleased.’

Perhaps his LORDSHIP’S unwillingness to leave England might proceed from his zeal for the church, and from his fears lest it should be betrayed in his absence. But it was generally thought, and I believe with good reason, that the true source of his dissatisfaction was the QUEEN’S not making him her sole governor and director, and MY LORD GODOLPHIN’S being preferred before him for the treasury: which, if true, affords a remarkable instance, how much self-love and self-conceit can blind even a man of sense; for such, by his party at least, he was esteemed to be. I don’t wonder that he should like power (it is what most people are fond of) or that being related to the QUEEN he should expect a particular consideration. This was very natural and very reasonable, if he had behaved himself to her as he ought: But when one considers, that his relation to her

was

was by such a sort of accident, and that his conduct had been so very extraordinary, 'tis an amazing thing that he should imagine, he was to domineer over the QUEEN and every body else, as he did over his own family.

Whether the church was in any danger or not *before*, it could not be questioned by any good churchman, but it *now* began to be in some peril, when MY LORD ROCHESTER was no longer in place, nor in the council.

The bill against occasional conformity was revived by the tories the next sessions of parliament; which proceeding, whatever regard it might show for the church, did certainly show little respect or gratitude to the QUEEN, who had hitherto showered her favours upon the party. For HER MAJESTY having been informed, that this bill had alarmed a great part of her subjects, who were otherwise perfectly well affected to her government, and no less able than zealous to assist her in carrying on the war against the common enemy, had endeavoured in her speech, by the warmest expressions, to dissuade
the

the parliament from this measure, as it might prove a source of fatal divisions at home, where union and harmony were so necessary in order to the success of our affairs abroad.

But the interest of the *church*, that is, of *high-churchmen*, was to be preferred before the interest of the QUEEN or of the nation, or the preservation of the liberties of Europe. The bill was therefore brought in again; but, though it had once more an easy passage through the house of commons, it met with the same fate as the year before in the house of lords.

This new blow to the church was soon followed by another, the removal of LORD JERSEY and SIR EDWARD SEYMOUR from their employments; and about the same time LORD NOTTINGHAM resigned his place of secretary of state, because the whigs were too much favoured.

The whigs did indeed begin to be favoured, and with good reason. For when they saw that MY LORD MARLBOROUGH prosecuted the common cause with such hearty diligence and such unexpected success, they,
not-

notwithstanding the partiality which had been shown to their opposites, universally forgot their resentments, and no longer considering themselves as an oppressed party, ran in with the loudest acclamations, extolling his merit and services : and as the trade and money of the nation were chiefly in the hands of those, who espoused the cause, in which the ministry were then engaged, it is no wonder that MY LORD GODOLPHIN began to pay them as much regard as the times and the QUEEN'S prejudices would permit him to do.

The church in the mean while, it must be confessed, was in a deplorable condition. The EARLS OF ROCHESTER, JERSEY, and NOTTINGHAM, and SIR EDWARD SEYMOUR out of place, and the whigs coming into favour. It was resolved therefore the next sessions of parliament to tack the occasional conformity bill to the money bill, a resolution which showed the spirit of the party in it's true light. But it happened that MY LORD MARLBOROUGH, in the summer before the parliament met, gained the

K
battle

battle of Blenheim. This was an unfortunate accident; and by the visible dissatisfaction of some people on the news of it, one would have imagined, that instead of beating the French, he had beat the church. And I cannot here omit one remarkable instance of true party spirit in the tories on this occasion. MY LORD MARLBOROUGH, before he had had sufficient opportunity of showing the greatness of the general, had, for his first successes in the war, been complimented by this very house of commons, as the *retriever of the glory of the English nation*, being then reputed a high churchman. But now that he was thought to look towards the moderate party, his *complete victory* at Blenheim was, in the address of congratulation to the QUEEN, ridiculously paired with SIR GEORGE ROOK'S *drawn battle* with the French at sea.

However, neither the glory of this victory, nor the important consequences of it, could be hid, even from the eyes of those who would have been the most willing not to see them. The power of France was
broken

broken by it to a great degree, and the liberties and peace of Europe were in a fair way to be established upon firm and lasting foundations. The less violent part of the tories therefore could not be prevailed with to hazard these great and pleasing hopes, by tacking them to the fortune of the *occasional conformity bill*. The tack was rejected by the majority of the members, even of this house of commons, so rich in tories and high churchmen. And though the bill by itself was afterwards passed in that house, it was again thrown out by the lords.

The last great wound given to the church this year, was by the QUEEN's taking the privy seal from the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

And the next year I prevail'd with HER MAJESTY to take the great seal from SIR NATHAN WRIGHT, a man despised by all parties, of no use to the crown, and whose weak and wretched conduct in the court of *chancery*, had almost brought his very office into contempt. His removal however was a great loss to the church, for which he had

ever been a warm stickler. And this loss was the more sensibly felt, as his successor, MY LORD COWPER, was not only of the whig-party, but of such abilities and integrity, as brought a new credit to it in the nation.

But, what was worse than all these misfortunes, the majority of the house of commons in the new parliament of 1705 proved to be whig.

No wonder if, in these sad circumstances, a loud and piteous cry was raised upon the extreme danger of the poor church. A doleful piece, penn'd by some of the zealots of the party, and called *the memorial of the church of England*, was printed and spread abroad, setting forth her melancholy condition and distress; and much lamentation it occasioned. But what remedy? There could be no hope of getting an *occasional conformity bill* passed in this parliament. One expedient still remained; and this was, to invite the PRINCESS SOPHIA OF HANOVER, the present KING's grandmother, to come over and defend the church. Her presence here, though she would not probably, as being a
lutheran,

lutheran, be very zealous for a bill against occasional conformists, yet might happily prove a means to hinder the whigs from bringing in popery and the *Pretender*. A motion was therefore made in the house of lords for this invitation; and the necessity of it was urged with great strength of argument by the EARLS OF ROCHESTER and NOTTINGHAM, and the other grave men of the party. Not that they had the least hope or the least desire to carry their point, but being well assured that the QUEEN would never consent to such an invitation, nor pardon her ministers if they encouraged the design, this was a notable stratagem to ruin them, either with HER MAJESTY, or with the nation; for if in compliance with her prejudices they opposed this motion, it was to be hoped it would draw the publick odium upon them, as declared enemies to the protestant succession.

This hopeful scheme however did not succeed. The whigs opposed the invitation, and yet preserved their credit, to the great mortification of the other party. I

know that MY LORD GODOLPHIN, and other great men, were much reflected upon by some well disposed persons, for not laying hold of this opportunity, which the tories put into their hands, of more effectually securing the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover. But those of the whigs, whose anger against the minister was raised on this account, little knew how impracticable the project of *invitation* was, and that the attempt would have only served to make the QUEEN discard her ministry, to the ruin of the common cause of these kingdoms, and of all Europe. I had often tried HER MAJESTY upon this subject ; and when I found that she would not hear of the immediate successor's coming over, had pressed her that she would at least invite hither the young PRINCE OF HANOVER, who was not to be her immediate successor, and that she would let him live here as her son : but HER MAJESTY would listen to no proposal of this kind in any shape whatsoever.

To give a full answer to all objections against the ministers conduct with regard to
this

this matter, I shall here relate a transaction that passed three years afterwards, which will show not only the insincerity of the tories in their zeal for the house of Hanover, when they moved for the PRINCESS SOPHIA's being invited hither, but how insuperably averse the QUEEN was to suffer the presence of any of that family.

MY LORD HAVERSHAM, a great speech-maker, and publisher of his speeches, and who was become the mouth of the party for any extraordinary alarm, was sent privately by the tories to the QUEEN, to acquaint her with the discovery, they pretended to have made, of a terrible design formed by the whigs, to bring over one of the house of Hanover, and to force this upon her whether she would or not. Now can any thing be more curious than such a message from the tories, and by such a messenger? For MY LORD HAVERSHAM was the man who had moved for the PRINCESS SOPHIA's coming over as a thing necessary for the preservation of the protestant religion. But *now* any design of inviting hither one

of that family was of so frightful a nature, that it must be esteemed meritorious to give early notice of the danger. I shall make no further comment upon this proceeding, but transcribe a part of the QUEEN's letter to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH upon this occasion.

July 22d 1708.

‘ ——— I cannot end this without giving
 ‘ you an account in short, of a visit I had
 ‘ from LORD HAVERSHAM. He told me his
 ‘ business was to let me know, there was
 ‘ certainly a design laying between the
 ‘ whigs and some great men, to have an
 ‘ address made in the next sessions of parlia-
 ‘ ment for inviting the ELECTORAL PRINCE
 ‘ over to settle here, and that he would
 ‘ certainly come to make a visit, as soon as
 ‘ the campaign was over, and that there
 ‘ was nothing for me to do, to prevent my
 ‘ being forced to do this, (as I certainly
 ‘ would) but my showing myself to be
 ‘ QUEEN, and making it my own act. I
 ‘ told him, if this matter should be brought
 ‘ into parliament, whoever proposed it, whe-
 ‘ ther

' ther whig or tory, I should look upon nei-
 ' ther of them as my friends, nor would
 ' ever make any invitation neither to the
 ' young man, nor his father, nor his grand-
 ' mother.

' ——— What I have to say upon this
 ' subject, at this time, is, to beg you would
 ' find whether there is any design where
 ' you are, that the young man should make
 ' a visit in the winter, and contrive some
 ' way to put any such thought out of their
 ' head, that the difficulty may not be
 ' brought upon me of refusing him leave
 ' to come, if he should ask it; or forbid-
 ' ing him to come, if he should attempt
 ' it: For one of these two things *I must do*,
 ' if either he or his father should have any
 ' desires to have him see this country, it
 ' being a thing *I cannot bear*, to have any
 ' successor here, though but for a week :
 ' And therefore I shall depend upon you,
 ' to do every thing on the other side of the
 ' water to prevent this mortification from
 ' coming upon her, that is, and ever will
 ' be, most sincerely, &c.

To

To return to the motion for inviting the PRINCESS SOPHIA. It was upon this occasion, that the QUEEN gave the first indications of any thing like a real reconciliation to the whigs. For though she had been prevailed with to express a desire, that the parliament would avoid measures tending to create divisions and animosities at home, (meaning the occasional conformity bill) yet you will see by the following letters from HER MAJESTY to me, how much she lean'd all along, in her inclination, to the tories, and even to those very measures she would have dissuaded them from; and which she only thought unreasonable at that time.

Friday morning.

‘ I give my dear MRS. FREEMAN many
 ‘ thanks for her long letter, and am truly
 ‘ sensible of the sincere kindness you ex-
 ‘ press in it; and in return, to ease your
 ‘ mind, I must tell you, MR. BROMLEY *will*
 ‘ *be disappointed, for the PRINCE does not*
 ‘ *intend to go to the house, when the bill of*
 ‘ *occasional conformity is brought in; but at*
 ‘ the

the same time that I think him very much
 in the right not to vote in it, I shall not
 have the worse opinion of any of the lords
 that are for it; for though *I should have*
been very glad, it had not been brought
into the house of commons, because I would
 not have had any pretence given for quar-
 relling; I can't help thinking, *now it is*
as good as past there, it will be *better for*
the service to have it pass the house of
lords too. I must own to you, that I ne-
 ver cared to mention any thing on this
 subject to you, because I knew you would
 not be of my mind; but since you have
 given me this occasion, I can't forbear
 saying, that *I see nothing like persecution*
in this bill. You may think it is a notion
 LORD NOTTINGHAM has put into my
 head, but upon my word it is my own
 thought. I am in hopes I shall have one
 look before you go to St. Albans, and
 therefore will say no more now, but will
 answer your letter more at large, some
 other time; and only promise my dear
 MRS. FREEMAN faithfully, I will read
 the

‘ the *book* she sent me, and beg she would
 ‘ never let difference of opinion hinder us
 ‘ from living together, as we used to do.
 ‘ Nothing shall ever alter your poor, unfor-
 ‘ tunate, faithful MORLEY, who will live
 ‘ and die with all truth and tendernefs,
 ‘ your’s *.

The following letters from the QUEEN
 to me, relate to the occasional conformity
 bill, when it was intended to tack it to the
 money bill in 1704.

November 17th 1704.

‘ ——— I am sure no body shall endea-
 ‘ your more to promote it [*union*] than

* It is evident, that this letter, though it bears no
 other date than friday morning, was written about the
 beginning of December 1703, when the *occasional con-*
formity bill was brought in by MR. BROMLEY. And
 it is probable, from some words in the letter, that this
 bill had passed the committee. when the QUEEN wrote.

LORD NOTTINGHAM, by whose advice, the QUEEN
 supposes, that I believe her influenced, was then secre-
 tary of state.

The PRINCE OF DENMARK did not vote for the bill
 this year, nor go to the house on this occasion; so that
 MR. BROMLEY was disappointed.

‘ your

‘ your poor, unfortunate, faithful MORLEY,
 ‘ *who doth not at all doubt of your truth and*
 ‘ *sincerity to her, and hopes her not agree-*
 ‘ *ing in every thing you say, will not be im-*
 ‘ *puted to want of value, esteem, or tender*
 ‘ *kindness for my dear dear MRS. FREEMAN,*
 ‘ *it being impossible for any one to be more*
 ‘ *sincerely another’s, than I am your’s.*

St. James’s, November the 21st.

‘ I had just sealed up my letter on *sa-*
 ‘ *turday* night as I received the satisfaction
 ‘ of my dear MRS. FREEMAN’s of that
 ‘ day’s date, but would not open it again,
 ‘ concluding I should have time, either
 ‘ *sunday* or *yesterday*, to thank you for it.
 ‘ When *sunday* came I had several hin-
 ‘ drances, and *yesterday* I sat down to write,
 ‘ but was hinder’d by one of the *Scots* people
 ‘ coming to speak with me, or else I should
 ‘ not have been so long without telling
 ‘ you, I am very sorry, you should forbear
 ‘ writing upon the apprehension of your
 ‘ letters being troublesom, *since you know*
 ‘ *very well they are not, nor ever can be so,*
 ‘ but

' but the contrary, to your poor, unfortunate,
 ' faithful MORLEY. Upon what my dear
 ' MRS. FREEMAN says again concerning
 ' the address, I have looked it over again,
 ' and cannot for my life see, one can put
 ' any other interpretation upon that word
 ' *pressures*, than what I have done already.
 ' As to my saying the church was in some
 ' danger in the late reign, I cannot alter
 ' my opinion; for though there was no
 ' violent thing done, every body that will
 ' speak impartially must own, that every
 ' thing was leaning towards the whigs,
 ' *and whenever that is, I shall think the*
 ' *church beginning to be in danger* *.

But though it appears by these letters that
 the QUEEN was not hitherto inwardly con-

* It would be hard to determine from the imperfect
 date of this letter or the subject matter of it, whether
 it was writ in 1703 or 1704; but as the first lines of
 it show, that it was written on a tuesday, this fixes it
 to 1704, the 21st of November falling that year on a
 tuesday.

The occasional conformity bill was read the first
 time 23d November.

verted to the whigs, neither by all that I had been able to say, nor even by the mad conduct of the tacking tories, yet, as I before hinted, their behaviour in the affair of the *invitation* occasioned something like a change in her. She had been present at the debates in the house of lords upon that subject, and had heard the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM treat her with great disrespect, urging as an argument for inviting over the PRINCESS SOPHIA, that the QUEEN might live till she did not know what she did, and be like a child in the hands of others; and a great deal to the same effect. Such rude treatment from the tories, and the zeal and success of the whigs in opposing a motion, so extremely disagreeable to her, occasioned her to write to me in the following terms.

‘ ——— I believe dear MRS. FREEMAN
 ‘ and I shall not disagree as we have former-
 ‘ ly done; for I am sensible of the services
 ‘ those people have done me that you have
 ‘ a good opinion of, and will countenance
 ‘ them, and am thoroughly convinced of
 ‘ the

‘ the malice and insolence of *them*, that
 ‘ you have always been speaking against.’

And at this same time, HER MAJESTY authorized MY LORD GODOLPHIN to give the utmost assurances to the chief men of the whigs, that she would put herself and her affairs into such hands as they should approve, and would do every thing possible for the security of the protestant succession.

But notwithstanding this, it was not till after much solicitation, that HER MAJESTY could be prevailed with, so far to oblige the whigs, as to make MY LORD SUNDERLAND secretary of state in the room of SIR CHARLES HEDGES. The whigs, after the services they had done, and the assurances the QUEEN had given them, thought it reasonable to expect, that *one* of the secretaries at least should be such a man as they could place a confidence in. They believed they might trust MY LORD SUNDERLAND; and though they did not think him the properest man for the post, yet being MY LORD MARLBOROUGH’S son-in-law, they chose to recommend him to

HER MAJESTY, because, as they expressed themselves to me, they imagined it was *driving the nail that would go*.

I must observe here that MY LORD MARLBOROUGH was not, in his inclination, for this promotion of MY LORDSUNDERLAND. I have a letter from him expressing his dislike to the design. But how hard pressed both he and MY LORD GODOLPHIN were by the whigs to have it brought to effect, will fully appear by the following letter on the same subject.

Grametz October 1706.

‘ When I writ my last, I was very full
 ‘ of the spleen, and I think with too much
 ‘ reason. My whole time, to the best of my
 ‘ understanding, has been employed for the
 ‘ publick good, as I do assure you I do in
 ‘ the presence of God, neglecting no op-
 ‘ portunity of letting 83 * see what I take
 ‘ to be her true interest. It is terrible to go
 ‘ through so much uneasiness. I do not say
 ‘ this to flatter any party, for I will never

* The QUEEN.

L

‘ do

do it, let the consequence be what it will.
 For, as parties, they are both in the wrong.
 But 'tis certain 73 and his adherents are
 not to be trusted. So that 83 * has no
 choice, but that of employing those who
 will carry on the war and support 91 †.
 And if any other method is taken I know
 we shall go into confusion. Now this
 being the case, I leave you to judge, whe-
 ther I am dealt kindly with? I do not say
 this for any other end, but to have your
 justice and kindness ; for in that will con-
 sist my future happiness. I am sure I
 would venture a thousand lives, if I had
 them, to procure ease and happiness to the
 QUEEN. And yet no number of men
 could persuade me to act as a minister in
 what was not my opinion. So that I shall
 never fail in speaking my mind very freely.
 And as my opinion is, that the tackers
 and all the adherents of 73 are not for
 carrying on the war, which is for the true
 interest of the QUEEN and kingdom, you
 may depend I shall never join with any

* The QUEEN. † Lord GODOLPHIN.

but

' but such as I think will serve her and the
 ' true interest of our country with all their
 ' hearts. And if the war continues but
 ' one year longer with success, I hope it will
 ' not be in any body's power to make the
 ' QUEEN's business uneasy. And then I
 ' shall be glad to live as quiet as possible,
 ' and not envy the governing men, who
 ' would then I believe think better of go-
 ' and 91 * than they now do. And I will
 ' own frankly to you, that the jealousy
 ' of some of your friends have, that 90 and
 ' 91 do not act sincerely, makes me so weary,
 ' that, were it not for my gratitude for 83,
 ' and concern for 91, I would now retire
 ' and never serve more. For I have had
 ' the good luck to deserve better from all
 ' Englishmen, than to be suspected for not
 ' being in the true interest of my country;
 ' which I am in, and ever will be, without
 ' being of a faction. And this principle shall
 ' govern me for the little remainder of my
 ' life. I must not think of being popular;
 ' but I shall have the satisfaction of my go-

* Lord MARLBOROUGH and lord GODOLPHIN.

' ing to the grave with the opinion of hav-
 ' ing acted, as became an honest man. And
 ' if I have your esteem and love, I should
 ' think myself entirely happy. Having
 ' writ thus far I have received your two
 ' letters of the 20th and 21st, which con-
 ' firm me in my opinion before. And since
 ' the resolution is taken to vex and ruin 91,
 ' because 83 has not complied with what
 ' was desired for 117 *, I shall from hence-
 ' forward despise all mankind, and think
 ' there is no such thing as virtue. For I
 ' know with what zeal 91 has pressed 83
 ' in that matter. I do pity him, and shall
 ' always love him as long as I live; and ne-
 ' ver be a friend to any that can be his
 ' enemy.

' I have writ my mind very freely to
 ' 83 †, on this occasion, so that whatever
 ' misfortune may happen, I shall have a
 ' quiet mind, having done what I thought
 ' my duty. And as for the resolution of
 ' making me uneasy, I believe they will
 ' not have much pleasure in that, for as I

* LORD SUNDERLAND, † The QUEEN.

' have

‘ have not set my heart on having justice
 ‘ done me, I shall not be disappointed; nor
 ‘ will I be ill used by any man.

I shall here add a letter of my own to the
 QUEEN on the same subject; and the rather,
 because it not only confirms what I have said
 of HER MAJESTY’S *unwillingness to oblige*
the whigs, but shews that as much as I op-
 posed the tories, I was no enemy to the
church they *talked* of, so far as any thing
real and *excellent* was meant by that word;
 and because it contains so just a prediction of
 the usage, the QUEEN afterwards met with,
 when she fell into the hands of the high
 church party.

‘ By the letter I had from YOUR MAJES-
 ‘ TY this morning, and the great weight you
 ‘ put upon the difference betwixt the word
 ‘ notion and nation in my letter, I am only
 ‘ made sensible (as by many other things)
 ‘ that you were in a great disposition to com-
 ‘ plain of me, since to this moment, I can-
 ‘ not for my life see any essential difference
 ‘ betwixt these two words, as to the sense of
 ‘ my letter, the true meaning of which was

‘ only to let YOUR MAJESTY know, with that
 ‘ faithfulness and concern, which I have ever
 ‘ had for your service, that it was not possi-
 ‘ ble for you to carry on your government
 ‘ much longer, with so much partiality to
 ‘ one sort of men, though they lose no oc-
 ‘ casion of diserving you, and of showing
 ‘ the greatest inveteracy against MY LORD
 ‘ MARLBOROUGH and my lord treasurer;
 ‘ and so much discouragement to others, who,
 ‘ even after great disobligations, have taken
 ‘ several opportunities to show their firmness
 ‘ to YOUR MAJESTY’s interest, and their zeal
 ‘ to support you, and your ministers too,
 ‘ only because they had been faithful and
 ‘ useful servants to you and the publick.

‘ This was all the sense and meaning of
 ‘ my letter, and if you can find fault with
 ‘ this, I am so unhappy as that you must
 ‘ always find fault with me, for *I am un-*
 ‘ *capable of thinking otherwise as long as I*
 ‘ *live, or of acting now but upon the same*
 ‘ *principle that I served you before you came*
 ‘ *to the crown for so many years, when your*
 ‘ *unlimited favour and kindness to me, could*
 ‘ *never tempt me to make use of it in one*
 ‘ *single instance that was not for your interest*
 ‘ and

‘ *and service.* I am afraid I have been too
 ‘ long in explaining my thoughts upon the
 ‘ subject of my own letter, which it seems
 ‘ has been so great an offence, and how
 ‘ justly I leave you to judge; and I must beg
 ‘ your patience, since I am not very like
 ‘ to trouble you again, to let me say some-
 ‘ thing upon the subject of your letter to my
 ‘ lord treasurer, which he has shewn me to-
 ‘ day, with more concern than I know how
 ‘ to express: this was indeed the subject of
 ‘ my own letter, and the occasion of it, for
 ‘ I do not only see the uneasiness and the
 ‘ grief he has to leave your service, when
 ‘ you seem so desirous he should continue in
 ‘ it, but I see as well as he, the impossibility
 ‘ of his being able to support it, or himself,
 ‘ or MY LORD MARLBOROUGH, for it all
 ‘ hangs upon one thread; and when they
 ‘ are forced to leave your service, *you will*
 ‘ *then indeed, find yourself in the hands of a*
 ‘ *violent party, who I am sure will have very*
 ‘ *little mercy or even humanity for you.*
 ‘ Whereas you might prevent all these mis-
 ‘ fortunes, by giving my lord treasurer and
 ‘ MY LORD MARLBOROUGH (whom you
 ‘ may so safely trust) leave to propose those
 ‘ things

' things to you, which they know and can
 ' judge to be absolutely necessary for your
 ' service, which will put it in their power
 ' to influence those, who have given you
 ' proofs both of their being able to serve you,
 ' and of their desiring to make you great
 ' and happy. But rather than YOUR MA-
 ' JESTY will employ a party-man, as you
 ' are pleased to call LORD SUNDERLAND, you
 ' will put all things in confusion, and at the
 ' same time that you say this, you employ
 ' SIR C. HEDGES, who is in one against you,
 ' only that he has voted in remarkable things
 ' that he might keep his place; and he did
 ' the same thing in the late KING's time,
 ' till at last, that every body saw he was
 ' just dying and he could lose nothing by
 ' differing with that court: But formerly
 ' he voted with those men, the enemies to
 ' this government call whigs, and if he had
 ' not been a party-man, how could he have
 ' been a secretary of state, when all your
 ' councils were influenced by MY LORD R.
 ' LORD NOTT. SIR E. SEYMOUR, and about
 ' six or seven more just such men, that call
 ' themselves *the heroes for the church*? But
 ' what church can any man be of that
 ' would

' would disturb so just a government as yours,
 ' or how can any body be in the true interest
 ' of England, that opposes you and your mi-
 ' nisters, by whose advice, in four years
 ' time, you are very near pulling down the
 ' power of France, and making *that reli-*
 ' *gion, they only talk of, not only more secure*
 ' *than in any of the late reigns, but putting*
 ' *it upon a better foundation than it has been*
 ' *since the reformation?*

' You are pleased to say you think it a
 ' great hardship, to persuade a man to part
 ' with a place he is in possession of, for one
 ' that is not vacant. In some cases that
 ' were certainly right, but not in this; for
 ' SIR CHARLES HEDGES can have the place
 ' he desires immediately, and it is much
 ' better for him, unless he could be secre-
 ' tary of state for life. He will have two
 ' places that are considerable, one of which
 ' he can compass no other way, and this is
 ' so far from being a hardship, that he and
 ' all the world must think it a great kind-
 ' ness done him, and he must be a very
 ' weak man, if he lost the opportunity of
 ' having such a certainty, when he can't
 ' flatter himself that (whatever happens) he
 ' can

' can be supported long in a place of that
 ' consequence for which he is so unfit. He
 ' has no capacity, no quality, no interest,
 ' nor ever could have been in that post, but
 ' that every body knows, MY LORD ROCHESTER
 ' cares for nothing so much as a man
 ' that he thinks will depend upon him. I beg
 ' YOUR MAJESTY's pardon for not wait-
 ' ing upon you, and I persuade my self, that
 ' long as my letter is, it will be less trouble-
 ' som to YOUR MAJESTY.

It was a wonder to many, that this affair
 of MY LORD SUNDERLAND's promotion met
 with such difficulties, considering his relation
 to MY LORD MARLBOROUGH, whose merit
 with his QUEEN and country was every
 year augmenting. For, whilst this matter
 was in suspense, he obtained the victory of
 Ramillies: on which occasion HER MAJESTY
 in a letter dated from Kensington, May 17,
 1706, told him — ' She wanted words
 ' to express the true sense she had of the
 ' great service he had done his country, and
 ' hoped it would be a means to confirm all
 ' good and honest people in their principles,
 ' and

‘ and frighten others from being troublesome; — *and then spoke*, ‘ of the allay it was to all her satisfaction, to consider what hazards he was exposed to,’ — *and repeated an obliging request she had often made*, ‘ that he would be careful of himself.’

I cannot doubt of the QUEEN’s kind dispositions to MY LORD MARLBOROUGH at this time, or her willingness, in general, to oblige him. And it quickly appeared that the difficulties raised by HER MAJESTY against parting with SIR CHARLES HEDGES, were wholly owing to the artifice and management of MR. HARLEY, the other secretary of state, whose interest and secret transactions with the QUEEN were then doubtless in their beginning. This man had been put into that post by the LORDS MARLBOROUGH and GODOLPHIN, when MY LORD NOTTINGHAM in disgust resigned it. They thought him a very proper person to manage the house of commons, upon which so much always depends : And his artifices had won upon them so far that they could not be persuaded, but they might securely trust him ; till experience too late convinced them of the contrary. And indeed (not to mention other parts

parts of his behaviour) who would have thought that the man, who had wrote the following letter on occasion of LORD BLANDFORD's death, could so soon have been laying schemes for the destruction of the person to whom it was written?

MY LORD,

‘ There is no servant of your grace’s is
 ‘ more sensibly affected with, I will not call
 ‘ it your grace’s loss, but our common mis-
 ‘ fortune, than myself. And I wish to God
 ‘ the part I can bear of it, would discharge
 ‘ your grace of any of the burden. I do
 ‘ feel it, that a limb is torn off; therefore I
 ‘ think, for the preservation of the residue,
 ‘ the blood should be staunch’d, I mean,
 ‘ grief should be moderated; time I know
 ‘ is the best physician in this case, but our
 ‘ necessities require a quicker remedy. And
 ‘ I doubt not but your grace’s greatness of
 ‘ mind will give what is due to nature, with-
 ‘ out taking any thing from reason. Be
 ‘ pleased to consider that the nation are your
 ‘ children, the publick needs all your care,
 ‘ how little soever it may deserve it.

‘ I shall

‘ I shall pay my duty to your grace, when
 ‘ you will permit me; in the mean time I
 ‘ beseech your pardon for this overflowing
 ‘ of my passion, which is the effect of the
 ‘ dutiful affection of,

‘ MY LORD,

‘ *Your grace’s most humble*

‘ *and most obedient servant,*

March 1.

‘ RO. HARLEY.’

170²₃

But to return, it is no wonder that MR. HARLEY, with such views as he then had, should be unwilling to see a secretary of state displaced, over whom he thought he had some influence, and through whose hands the greater part of the business of his own office (scandalously neglected by himself) used to pass; and much more unwilling to have him succeeded by a person over whom he had no power whatsoever.

As for SIR CHARLES HEDGES, when he found how backward the QUEEN was to dismiss him, he was so prudent as to make a greater advantage to himself by quitting his post, than he could have done by holding it. And in the winter of 1706, LORD SUNDERLAND was appointed to succeed him.

But

But notwithstanding this point thus carried by the whigs, they were soon alarmed again by the QUEEN'S choice of two high church divines, to fill two vacant bishopricks. Several of the whigs were disposed to think themselves betray'd by the ministry: whereas the truth was, that the QUEEN'S inclination to the tories being now sooth'd by the flatteries and insinuations of her private counsellors, had begun to make it irksom to her to consult with her ministers upon any promotions, either in the church or the state. The first artifice of those counsellors was, to instil into the QUEEN notions of the high prerogative of *acting without her ministers*, and (as they expressed it) of being QUEEN *indeed*. And the nomination of persons to bishopricks against the judgment and *remonstrances* of her ministry, being what they knew her genius would fall in with more readily than with any thing else they could propose, they began with that; and they took care that those *remonstrances* should be interpreted by the world, and resented by herself as hard usage, a denial of common civility, and even *the making her no QUEEN*.

HER MAJESTY however, to quiet the dissatisfaction of the whigs for the late promotions, ordered her ministers to assure them, that she would prefer no more tories, and she gave the same assurances with her own mouth in the cabinet council. And she was suffered by her secret counsellors so far to observe this promise, as to give, about the same time, the bishoprick of Norwich to doctor TRIMNEL ; a particular friend of LORD SUNDERLAND's. And she also, sometime after, gave the professorship of divinity at Oxford to doctor POTTER, the present archbishop of Canterbury, who had doctor SMALRIDGE for his competitor, recommended by the tories. But this latter favour to the whigs was not so easily obtained as the former. And, upon the delays that were made in bestowing it, MY LORD MARLBOROUGH thought it proper to try what credit he had with a QUEEN, whose glory he had carried to a height beyond that of any of her predecessors. He wrote therefore a very moving letter to her, complaining of the visible loss of his interest with her, and particularly of her so long deferring the promotion she had promised, of the person recommended

mended by her ministry, as a faithful friend to her government, adding, that the only way to make her reign easy, was to be true to that rule, which she had professed to lay down, of preferring none of those, who appeared against her service and the nation's interest, &c.— He wrote at the same time to the same effect to me, and I wrote to the QUEEN, and at length by much sollicitation this matter was obtained, and doctor POTTER fixed in the professorship.

But this was only yielding up one small point, in order to conceal a much greater design and bring it to effect, when the season should be ripe for it. It was about this time, that the ministry began to be assured of the secret practices of MR. HARLEY against them; and that I discovered the base returns made me by MRS. MASHAM, upon whom I had heaped the greatest obligations.

The story of this lady, as well as of *that gentleman*, who was her great adviser and director, is worth the knowledge of posterity, as it will lead them into a sense of the instability of court-favour, and of the incurable baseness which some minds are capable of contracting.

MRS. MASHAM was the daughter of one HILL, a merchant in the city, by a sister of my father. Our grandfather, SIR JOHN JENYNS, had two and twenty children, by which means the estate of the family (which was reputed to be about 4000 *l.* a year) came to be divided into small parcels. MRS. HILL had only 500 *l.* to her portion. Her husband lived very well, as I have been told, for many years, till turning projector, he brought ruin upon himself and his family. But as this was long before I was born, I never knew there were such people in the world, till after the PRINCESS ANNE was married, and when she lived at the Cockpit; at which time an acquaintance of mine came to me and said, *She believed I did not know, that I had relations who were in want*, and she gave me an account of them. When she had finished her story, I answered, *that indeed I had never heard before of any such relations*, and immediately gave her out of my purse ten guineas for their present relief, saying, I would do what I could for them. Afterwards I sent MRS. HILL more money, and saw her. She told me that her

M husband

husband was in the same relation to MR. HARLEY, as she was to me, but that he had never done any thing for her.

I think MRS. MASHAM's father and mother did not live long after this. They left four children, two sons and two daughters. The elder daughter (afterwards MRS. MASHAM) was a grown woman. I took her to St. Albans, where she lived with me and my children, and I treated her with as great kindness, as if she had been my sister. After some time a bedchamber-woman of the PRINCESS OF DENMARK's died; and as in that reign (after the PRINCESSES were grown up) rockers, though not gentlewomen, had been advanced to be bedchamber-women, I thought I might ask the PRINCESS to give the vacant place to MRS. HILL. At first indeed I had some scruple about it, but this being removed by persons I thought wiser, with whom I consulted, I made the request to the PRINCESS, and it was granted.

As for the younger daughter (who is still living) I engaged MY LORD MARLBOROUGH, when the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER's family was settled, to make her laundress
to

to him, which was a good provision for her. And when the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER died, I obtained for her a pension of 200 *l.* a year, which I paid her out of the privy-purse. And in some time after I asked the QUEEN's leave to buy her an annuity out of some of the funds, representing to HER MAJESTY, that as the privy-purse money produced no interest, it would be the same thing to her, if instead of the pension to MRS. HILL, she gave her at once a sum sufficient to purchase an annuity; and that by this means HER MAJESTY would make a *certain* provision for one, who had served the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER. The QUEEN was pleased to allow the money for that purchase, and it is very probable that MRS. HILL has the annuity to this day, and perhaps nothing else, unless she saved money after her sister had made her deputy to the privy-purse, which she did, as soon as she had supplanted me.

The elder son was, at my request, put by MY LORD GODOLPHIN into a place in the Custom-house; and when, in order to his ad-

vancement to a better, it was necessary to give security for his good behaviour, I got a relation of THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH's to be bound for him in two thousand pounds.

His brother (whom the bottle-men afterwards called *honest* JACK HILL) was a tall boy, whom I clothed, (for he was all in rags) and put to school at St. Albans to one Mr. JAMES, who had been an usher under DR. BUSBY of Westminster. And whenever I went to St. Albans I sent for him, and was as kind to him as if he had been my own child. After he had learnt what he could there, a vacancy happening of page of honour to the PRINCE OF DENMARK, HIS HIGHNESS was pleased, at my request, to take him. I afterwards got MY LORD MARLBOROUGH to make him groom of the bed-chamber to the DUKE of GLOUCESTER. And though my lord always said that JACK HILL *was good for nothing*, yet to oblige me, he made him his *aid de camp*, and afterwards gave him a *regiment*. But it was his sister's interest that raised him to be a *general*, and to command in that ever memorable

morable expedition to Quebec: I had no share in doing him these honours. To finish what I have to say upon his subject: When MR. HARLEY thought it useful to attack THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH in parliament, this Quebec *general*, this *honest* JACK HILL, this *once ragged boy*, *whom I clothed*, happening to be sick in bed, was nevertheless persuaded by his *sister* to get up, wrap himself in warmer clothes than those I had given him, and go to the house to vote against the DUKE.

I may here add, that even the *husband* of MRS. MASHAM had several obligations to me. It was at my instance that he was first made a page, then a querry, and afterwards groom of the bed-chamber to the PRINCE; for all which he himself thank'd me, as for favours procured by my means.

As for MRS. MASHAM herself, I had so much kindness for her, and had done so much to oblige her, without having ever done any thing to offend her, that it was too long before I could bring myself to think her other than a true friend, or for-

bear rejoicing at any instance of favour shown her by the QUEEN. I observed indeed at length that she was grown more shy of coming to me, and more reserved than usual, when she was with me; but I imputed this to her peculiar moroseness of temper, and for some time made no other reflection upon it.

The first thing, which led me into enquiries about her conduct, was, the being told (in the summer of 1707,) that my cousin HILL was privately married to Mr. MASHAM. I went to her and asked her if it were true, she owned it was, and begged my pardon for having concealed it from me. As much reason as I had to take ill this reserve in her behaviour, I was willing to impute it to bashfulness and want of breeding, rather than to any thing worse. I embraced her with my usual tenderness, and very heartily wished her joy; and then, turning the discourse, entered into her concerns in as friendly a manner as possible, contriving how to accommodate her with lodgings, by removing her sister into some
of

of my own. I then enquired of her very kindly, whether the QUEEN knew of her marriage; and very innocently offered her my service, if she needed it, to make that matter easy. She had by this time learnt the art of dissimulation pretty well, and answered with an air of unconcernedness, that the *bed-chamber women had already acquainted the QUEEN with it*, hoping by this answer to divert any farther examination into the matter. But I went presently to the QUEEN and asked her, *why she had not been so kind as to tell me of my cousin's marriage*, expostulating with her upon the point, and putting her in mind of what she used often to say to me out of MONTAIGNE, *that it was no breach of promise of secrecy to tell such a friend any thing, because it was no more than telling it to one's self*. All the answer I could obtain from HER MAJESTY was this, *I have a hundred times bid MASHAM tell it you, and she would not.*

The conduct both of the QUEEN and of MRS. MASHAM, convinced me that there was some mystery in the affair, and there-

upon I set myself to enquire as particularly as I could into it. And in less than a week's time, I discovered, *that my cousin was become an absolute favourite ; that the QUEEN herself was present at her marriage in DR. ARBUTHNOT's lodgings, at which time HER MAJESTY had called for a round sum out of the privy-purse ; that MRS. MASHAM came often to the QUEEN, when the PRINCE was asleep, and was generally two hours every day in private with her : And I likewise then discovered beyond all dispute MR. HARLEY's correspondence and interest at court by means of this woman.*

I was struck with astonishment at such an instance of ingratitude, and should not have *believed*, if there had been any room left for *doubting*.]

MY LORD MARLBOROUGH was at first no less incredulous than I, as appears by the following paragraph of a letter from him, in answer to one from me on this subject.

Meldest,

Meldest, June 3, 1707.

‘ The wisest thing is to have to do with
 ‘ as few people as possible. If you are sure
 ‘ that MRS. MASHAM speaks of business to
 ‘ the QUEEN, I should think, you might
 ‘ with some caution tell her of it, which
 ‘ would do good. For she certainly must be
 ‘ grateful and will mind what you say.’

It became easy now to decypher many particulars, which had hitherto remained mysterious, and my reflection quickly brought to my mind many passages, which had seemed odd and unaccountable, but had left no impressions of suspicion or jealousy. Particularly I remembered that a long while before this, being with the QUEEN, (to whom I had gone very privately by a secret passage, from my lodgings to the bed-chamber) on a sudden this woman, not knowing I was there, came in with the boldest and gayest air possible, but, upon sight of me, stopped; and immediately, changing her manner, and making a most solemn courtesy, *did* YOUR MAJESTY ring?

And

And then went out again. This singular behaviour needed no interpreter *now*, to make it understood. But, not to dwell on such trifling incidents, as soon as I had got a thorough insight into her management, being naturally frank and open, I wrote to her the following letter.

Sept. 23^d. 1707.

‘ Since the conversation I had with you
 ‘ at your lodgings, several things have
 ‘ happened to confirm me in what I was
 ‘ hard to believe, that you have made me
 ‘ returns very unsuitable to what I might
 ‘ have expected. I always speak my mind
 ‘ so plainly, that I should have told you so
 ‘ myself, if I had had the opportunity
 ‘ which I hoped for. But being now so
 ‘ near parting, think this way of letting
 ‘ you know it is like to be the least uneasy
 ‘ to you, as well as to

‘ *your humble servant,*

‘ S. MARLBOROUGH.

Though

Though I was to go to Woodstock the next day, I stayed at Windsor almost all the morning to wait her answer. But this could not be had so soon, it being necessary to consult with her great director in so nice a matter. At length however an answer was sent after me, the whole frame and stile of which shewed it to be the genuine product of an artful man, who knew perfectly well the management of such an affair.

Windsor, Sept. 24. 1707.

‘ While I was expecting a message from
 ‘ your grace, to wait upon you according
 ‘ to your commands, last night, I received
 ‘ a letter which surprizes me no less than
 ‘ it afflicts me, because it lays a most
 ‘ heavy charge upon me, of an ungrateful
 ‘ behaviour to your grace. HER MAJESTY
 ‘ was pleased to tell me, that you was angry
 ‘ with me for not acquainting you with
 ‘ my marriage. I did believe, after so gene-
 ‘ rous a pardon, your grace would think
 ‘ no

' no more of that. I am very confident,
 ' by the expression of your letter, that
 ' somebody has told some malicious lie of
 ' me to your grace, from which it is im-
 ' possible for me to vindicate myself till I
 ' know the crime I am accused of. I am
 ' sure, madam, your goodness cannot deny
 ' me what the meanest may ask the great-
 ' est; I mean justice, to know my accuser.
 ' Without that, all friendship must be at
 ' the mercy of every malicious liar, as they
 ' are, who have so barbarously and unjust-
 ' ly brought me under your displeasure,
 ' the greatest unhappiness that could be-
 ' fal me; I therefore make it my most
 ' humble request to your grace, that if
 ' ever I had the least share of your friend-
 ' ship, you would be pleased to give me
 ' that parting token to let me know who
 ' this wicked person is, and then I do not
 ' doubt but I shall make it plain how
 ' much they have wronged me, as well as
 ' imposed upon your grace. As my af-
 ' fliction is very great, you will I hope in
 ' compassion

‘ compassion let me hear from you, and
 ‘ believe me what I really am,

‘ MADAM,

‘ *Your grace's most humble*

‘ *and faithful servant,*

‘ A. HILL.

As I believe no body at this time doubts whether the writer of this letter was practising with the QUEEN to undermine me, I shall make no reflections upon it. My answer to it was in these terms.

‘ I received your letter upon the road to
 ‘ this place, and I can assure you the oc-
 ‘ casion of my complaints did not proceed
 ‘ from any ill offices that had been done
 ‘ you to me by any body, but from my
 ‘ own observation, which makes the im-
 ‘ pression much the stronger. But I think
 ‘ the subject is not very proper for a letter,
 ‘ and therefore I must defer it till we meet,

‘ and give you no farther trouble at this
 ‘ time from

‘ *Your most humble servant,*

‘ S. MARLBOROUGH.

About the same time that I made this discovery of MRS. MASHAM's *intriguing*, MY LORD GODOLPHIN, (as I before-mentioned) got notice of MR. HARLEY's practices both within doors and without. He was endeavouring to create in the whigs jealousies of LORD GODOLPHIN, and LORD MARLBOROUGH, and at the same time assuring the tories, that they might depend upon the QUEEN's inward affection to *them* ; and that it was wholly owing to those two great lords that the tories were not still possessed of all the places and employments. His design was to ruin the whigs, by disuniting them from the ministry, and so to pave the way for the tories to rise again ; whom he thought to unite in himself, as their head, after he had made it impossible for them

to

to think of a reconciliation with the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH and LORD GODOLPHIN.

But, that this able politician might in all things act suitably to his parts and genius, he, at the same time that he was employed in the manner I have related, was endeavouring to blind the eyes of those, whose destruction he aimed at, by the most elaborate compliments, and the most nauseous professions of affection and duty.

I am persuaded, my lord, that as mean an opinion as you have of this gentleman, you will yet be surprized at his manner of writing to MY LORD MARLBOROUGH and myself. I have picked out of the letters we had from him, some choice pieces, which I think are real curiosities, and, when compared with his after-conduct, will serve excellently well towards forming a perfect idea of his character.

‘ MADAM,

‘ Though the advantage the publick receives from this great and glorious victory of SCHELLENBERG is enough to
4 inspire

‘ inspire every one’s heart with joy, who
 ‘ loves either the QUEEN or the nation, yet I
 ‘ must profess *I have a peculiar satisfaction*;
 ‘ it enhances the blessing to *me* by the hand
 ‘ that wrought it: I should have had a
 ‘ share in common with the rest of the
 ‘ nation, if another had performed it: But
 ‘ when THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH is
 ‘ the author, when our deliverance, I may
 ‘ call it, is owing to *his* courage and *his*
 ‘ conduct: when the English honour is
 ‘ not only retrieved, but carried to so great
 ‘ a height, I cannot but receive an *addi-*
 ‘ *tional pleasure*, that it is *done by my lord*
 ‘ *duke*. I hope your grace will forgive
 ‘ this overflowing of joy, as an instance
 ‘ of the sincerity and duty wherewith I
 ‘ shall always endeavour to distinguish my-
 ‘ self,

‘ MADAM,

‘ *Your grace’s most humble*

‘ *and most obedient servant,*

July 3. 1704.

‘ R. HARLEY.

MY LORD,

May 17, 1706.

‘ Yesterday about seven in the evening,
 ‘ COL. RICHARDS brought the most accept-
 ‘ able news of the glorious success your
 ‘ grace had obtained in attacking the
 ‘ French army ; and at the same time
 ‘ we are rejoicing for the victory, we can-
 ‘ not (I mean every good Englishman) but
 ‘ be sensibly touched with the danger all
 ‘ was in, by the hazard your grace ex-
 ‘ posed your own person to ; that delive-
 ‘ rance enhances the value of the victory,
 ‘ considering how dear it had like to have
 ‘ cost us : heaven itself hath preserved that
 ‘ precious life, and would not suffer us
 ‘ to lose your grace, who was born for the
 ‘ delivery of your own country, and the
 ‘ rescue of so many others from tyranny
 ‘ and oppression. Your grace does not only
 ‘ triumph over the publick enemies, by
 ‘ teaching us how to conquer abroad, but
 ‘ you deliver us from ourselves, and rescue
 ‘ us from that tyranny which each party
 ‘ here would exercise upon one another : you

N

‘ have

' have again disarmed malice, and though
 ' your glorious actions will encrease envy,
 ' yet the lustre of what you have done will
 ' discover it, and consequently render it im-
 ' potent. May your grace still go on prof-
 ' perously, the best general, to the best QUEEN,
 ' and engaged in the best cause: and may
 ' you live long to enjoy in peace the fruits of
 ' your innumerable hazards and toils.

' I am with the greatest duty and affection,

MY LORD,

Your grace's most humble,

and most obedient servant,

RO. HARLEY.

MY LORD,

May 24, 1706.
June 4,

' I cannot tell where this letter will find
 ' your grace, the improvements you make
 ' of your glorious victory are so stupendous;
 ' you have united the characters of SCIPIO
 ' and HANNIBAL; your grace knows how to
 ' conquer, and how to improve a victory to
 ' admiration. Among the letters which have
 ' fallen into my hands, there is one to MR.

NOV 2

D'ALLEGRE

‘ D’ALLEGRE hath this article, that the ELEC-
 ‘ TOR OF BAVARIA had wrote to his brother
 ‘ the ELECTOR OF COLOGNE, in these terms.
 ‘ *Avec la plus belle armée et la plus florissante et*
 ‘ *animée j’ay etè battu, DIEU l’a voulu.* I hear
 ‘ from one I sent to Calais, that after the
 ‘ news of the victory and the declaring of
 ‘ Brussels, the mob of Calais were very trou-
 ‘ blefom in the town, and had your grace’s
 ‘ name continually in their mouths: we are
 ‘ assured that an exprefs was sent away May
 ‘ 25, N. S. to MR. FEUILLADE, to offer the
 ‘ DUKE OF SAVOY any terms whatever. I
 ‘ doubt not but their emissaries will be busy
 ‘ also in Holland again, but I wrote last
 ‘ post to MR. BUYS, to caution him upon
 ‘ that subject, how necessary it was to be
 ‘ very vigilant, &c.

‘ I am with the greatest duty and affection,

‘ MY LORD,

‘ *Your grace’s most humble,*

‘ *and most obedient servant,*

RO. HARLEY.

May 28,
June 8, 1706.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ I received this morning the honour of
‘ your grace’s letter of June 3, and cannot
‘ but observe, with the utmost pleasure and
‘ satisfaction, the great and wonderful suc-
‘ cesses which attend every day your grace’s
‘ prudent and most valiant conduct. It is ve-
‘ ry true, that victories have been obtained
‘ over potent and flourishing armies formerly.
‘ Your grace gave us two years since a noble
‘ instance of that, but give me leave to say,
‘ this is not only obtaining a victory, but wear-
‘ ing of it too; this is improving your own
‘ actions, and outdoing your own victories,
‘ for nothing but you, sir, can outdo my
‘ LORD MARLBOROUGH’s former victories.

‘ Your proceedings are so swift that it is
‘ scarce possible with thought to keep pace
‘ with them; therefore we can only here
‘ give directions at random, &c.

‘ I am with the greatest duty and affection,

‘ MY LORD,

*Your grace’s most humble,
and most obedient servant,*

‘ RO. HARLEY.

My

‘ MY LORD,

May 31,
June 11, 1706.

‘ What success this fortunate raising of
‘ the siege [of Barcelona] will have upon the
‘ minds of the Portugeze I cannot tell, all
‘ sorts of people here are much exasperated
‘ against them; and SCHONNENBERGH now
‘ writes to his masters, that he suspects some of
‘ those ministers are in the interest of France;
‘ and I believe all of them hope for a civil
‘ war in Spain, of which they will make
‘ their markets. *But the glorious things your*
‘ *grace has done, puts an end to such little*
‘ *projects. Your grace does all at once, and*
‘ *the influence of it will be as extensive as the*
‘ *grandeur of the action, &c.*

‘ I am with the greatest duty and affection,

‘ MY LORD,

‘ *Your grace's most humble*

‘ *and most obedient servant,*

‘ RO. HARLEY.

N 3

‘ MADAM,

Thursday, Aug. 8, 1706.

‘ MADAM,

‘ I was just going to end this trouble, when
 ‘ I was honoured with your grace’s com-
 ‘ mands, which I shall apply myself to obey
 ‘ with all imaginable chearfulness and dili-
 ‘ gence. I cannot think of a servant and a
 ‘ spy, without the utmost abhorrence, and
 ‘ particularly when I find it levelled at *your*
 ‘ *grace’s family, to whom we all owe so much,*
 ‘ *I have been often provoked to see so much*
 ‘ *publick and private ingratitude exercised to-*
 ‘ *wards the DUKE.*

‘ I shall not omit any thing which may
 ‘ tend towards a discovery of this villainy;
 ‘ and I will not put it into any one’s hands,
 ‘ but manage that myself. I beg your grace
 ‘ will do me the honour to believe me to be,
 ‘ with the utmost duty,

‘ MADAM,

‘ *Your grace’s most humble,*‘ *and most obedient servant,*

‘ RO. HARLEY.

Is it not amazing, that a person, who could thus extol the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH's services to his country, speak of his glory as beyond the power of envy or malice to hurt it, and profess to feel such a *peculiar joy* in the contemplation of it; is it not amazing, I say, that this very person should be, at the same time, contriving how to ruin that glorious man, in order to raise himself upon his ruins? The DUKE was too backward to believe him capable of such designs, though it is certain he never had entertained the same good opinion of him, as MY LORD GODOLPHIN had, and though, as one may collect from a paragraph in a letter of MR. HARLEY's, dated 25 March 1707. the DUKE had been early warned of his practices. The paragraph contains these words.

‘ I return your grace most hearty and humble thanks for the favourable expressions in your letter. I beg leave to assure you, that *I serve you by inclination and principle*, and a very little time will make that manifest, as well as that *I have no views or aims of my own*.

The conduct which MR. HARLEY observed, after these assurances, was so directly contrary to them, and became quickly so notorious, that MY LORD GODOLPHIN could not help representing it to the QUEEN as of the utmost prejudice to her affairs: And when he found that HER MAJESTY *would believe nothing of it*, he went so far as to say, that if MR. HARLEY continued to act the part he did, and yet to have so much credit with her, as he perceived he had, LORD MARLBOROUGH and himself must of necessity quit her service. The QUEEN appeared pretty much alarmed at this, and presently wrote a letter to me, in which were several expressions of great kindness.

‘ Kensington, Oct. the 30th.

‘ If I have not answered all my dear MRS.
 ‘ FREEMAN’S letters (as indeed I should
 ‘ have done) I beg she would not impute it
 ‘ to any thing but the apprehensions I was
 ‘ in of saying, what might add to the illim-
 ‘ pressions she has of me. For though I be-
 ‘ lieve we are both of the same opinion in
 ‘ the

‘ the main, I have the misfortune that I
 ‘ cannot agree exactly in every thing, and
 ‘ therefore what I say is not thought to have
 ‘ the least colour of reason in it, which makes
 ‘ me really not care to enter into particulars;
 ‘ but though I am unwilling to do it, it is im-
 ‘ possible for me to help giving you some
 ‘ answer to your last letter, in which I find
 ‘ you think me insensible of every thing. I
 ‘ am very sorry, you, who have known me
 ‘ so long, can give way to such a thought,
 ‘ as that I do not think the parting with MY
 ‘ LORD MARLBOROUGH and my lord treasurer
 ‘ of much consequence, because I did not
 ‘ mention any thing of my LORD MARLBO-
 ‘ ROUGH’s kind letter concerning me. The
 ‘ reason of that was, I really was in a great
 ‘ hurry when I writ to you, and not having
 ‘ time to write on that subject to both, I
 ‘ thought it was the most necessary to en-
 ‘ deavour to let him see he had no reason to
 ‘ have suspicions, of any one’s having pow-
 ‘ er with me, besides himself and my lord
 ‘ treasurer, and I hope they will believe me.

‘ Can dear MRS. FREEMAN think that I
 ‘ can be so stupid, as not to be sensible of the
 great

' great services that MY LORD MARLBOROUGH
 ' and my lord treasurer have done me, nor
 ' of the great misfortune it would be, if they
 ' should quit my service? No, sure, you
 ' cannot believe me to be so void of sense
 ' and gratitude. I never did, nor never will
 ' give them any just reason to forsake me;
 ' and they have too much honour and too
 ' sincere a love for their country to leave me
 ' without a cause. And I beg you would
 ' not add that to my other misfortunes, of
 ' pushing them on to such an unjust and un-
 ' justifiable action. I think I had best say
 ' no more for fear of being too troublesom.
 ' But whatever becomes of me, I shall always
 ' preserve a most sincere and tender passion
 ' for my dear MRS. FREEMAN to my last
 ' moment.'

After my return to London, I had another kind letter from HER MAJESTY in the following terms.

Saturday Night.

' My dear MRS. FREEMAN, I cannot go
 ' to bed without renewing a request that I
 ' have often made, that you would banish all
 ' unkind

' unkind and unjust thoughts of your poor,
 ' unfortunate, faithful MORLEY, which I
 ' saw by the glimpse I had of you yesterday
 ' you were full of. Indeed I do not deserve
 ' them, and if you could see my heart, you
 ' would find it as sincere, as tender, and pas-
 ' sionately fond of you as ever, and *as truly*
 ' *sensible of your kindness in telling me your*
 ' *mind freely upon all occasions.* Nothing shall
 ' ever alter me. Though we have the mis-
 ' fortune to differ in some things, I will ever
 ' be the same to my dear dear MRS. FREE-
 ' MAN, who I do assure once more, I am
 ' more tenderly and sincerely hers than it is
 ' possible ever to express.'

' I was every day in expectation of hearing
 from MRS. MASHAM, who, I supposed, would
 now endeavour to clear up what had created
 so much uneasiness between us. But, to my
 great surprize, I was twelve days at St.
James's under the same roof with her, be-
 fore I had so much as any message from her.
 At length having one night past by her win-
 dow in my return home, she sent one of her
 maids to my woman to ask *her* how I did,
 and

and to let me know that she was gone to Kenfington. This behaviour was so very ridiculous, that the next time I saw the QUEEN I could not forbear speaking of it, and at the same time telling her all that had past between us. The QUEEN looked grave and said, *she was mightily in the right not to come near me.* I answered that I did not understand *that*, since she had expressed such a concern at my displeasure, and since the clearing up of matters had been reserved to our meeting. The QUEEN replied, that *it was very natural for her to be afraid to come to me, when she saw I was angry with her.* To this I answered, that *she could have no reason to be afraid, unless she knew herself guilty of some crime.* It was the QUEEN's usual way on any occasion, where she was predetermined (and MY LORD MARLBOROUGH has told me that it was her father's) to repeat over and over some principal words she had resolved to use, and to stick firmly to them. She continued therefore to say, *it was very natural, and she was very much in the right.* So that this conversation with HER MAJESTY produced nothing but an undeniable proof, that

that the new favourite was deeply rooted in her heart and affections; and that it was thought more advisable to let the breach between me and MRS. MASHAM grow wider and wider, than to use any method to make it up.

But now within two days, MRS. MASHAM contrived to make me a visit, when I was abroad. Upon observing this, and considering that our meeting could be to no purpose but to draw fruitless and false professions from her, I gave a general order to my servants to say, whenever she should call, that I was not at home. After some time, it was thought proper that she should write to me, and desire I would see her; to which I consented, and appointed her a time. When she came, I began to tell her, *that it was very plain, the QUEEN was much changed towards me, and that I could not attribute this to any thing but her secret management; that I knew she had been very frequently with HER MAJESTY in private, and that the very attempt to conceal this, by artifice, from such a friend as I had been to her, was alone a very ill sign, and enough to prove a very bad purpose at bottom.* To this she very gravely answered, that *she*
was

was sure the QUEEN, who had loved me extremely, would always be very kind to me. It was some minutes before I could recover from the surprize, with which so extraordinary an answer struck me. To see a woman whom I had raised out of the dust, put on such a superior air, and to hear her assure me, by way of consolation, that the QUEEN would be always very kind to me ! At length I went on to reproach her with her ingratitude and her secret management with the QUEEN to undermine those, who had so long, and with so much honour served HER MAJESTY. To this she answered, that she never spoke to the QUEEN about business, but that she sometimes gave her petitions, which came to the back-stairs, and with which she knew I did not care to be troubled. And with such insincere answers she thought to colour over the matter, while I knew for certain, she had, before this, obtained pensions for several of her friends, and had frequently paid to others, out of the privy-purse, sums of money, which the QUEEN had ordered me to bring her ; and that she was, every day, long with HER MAJESTY in private.

But

But thus our conversation ended, and when we had sat a while silent, she rose up and said, *she hoped I would give her leave to come sometimes and enquire after my health*; which however, it is plain, she did not design to do, for she never once came near me after this. / Notwithstanding which, when she owned her marriage publicly, I went with LADY SUNDERLAND to visit her; not that I intended to have any further intercourse with her, or to dissemble the ill opinion I had of her (as I had fully resolved to let her *then* know, in case I found an opportunity of speaking to her privately) but purely out of respect to the QUEEN, and to avoid any noise or disagreeable discourse, which my refusing that ordinary part of civility might occasion.

Not many days after this, I went to pay my respects to the QUEEN in the Christmas holidays, and before I went in, I learnt from the page that MRS. MASHAM was just then sent for. The moment I saw HER MAJESTY, I plainly perceived she was very uneasy. She stood all the while I was with her, and looked as coldly upon me, as if her intention was, that I should

I should no longer doubt of my loss of her affections. Upon observing what reception I had, I said, *I was very sorry I had happened to come so unseasonably.* I was making my courtesy to go away, when the QUEEN, with a great deal of disorder in her face, and without speaking one word, took me by the hand: And, when there-upon I stooped to kiss her's, she took me up with a very cold embrace, and then, without one kind word, let me go. So strange a treatment of me, after my long and faithful services, and after such repeated assurances from HER MAJESTY of an unalterable affection, made me think that I ought, in justice to myself, as well as in regard to my mistress's interest, to write to her in the plainest and sincerest manner possible, and expostulate with her upon her change to me and upon the new counsels, by which she seemed to be wholly governed. / My letter was in these terms.

December the 27th. 1707.

‘ If MRS. MORLEY will be so just as to
‘ reflect

' reflect and examine impartially her last re-
 ' ception of MRS. FREEMAN, how very dif-
 ' ferent from what it has been formerly,
 ' when you were glad to see her come in,
 ' and sorry when she went away; certainly
 ' you can't wonder at her reproaches, up-
 ' on an embrace that seemed to have no
 ' satisfaction in it, but that of getting rid
 ' of her, in order to enjoy the conversation
 ' of one, that has the good fortune to please
 ' you much better, though I am sure no
 ' body did ever endeavour it with more
 ' sincerity than MRS. FREEMAN has done.
 ' And if I had considered only my in-
 ' terest and that of my family, I might
 ' have born this change without any com-
 ' plaint. For I believe MRS. MORLEY would
 ' be sincere in doing us any good. But I
 ' have once been honoured with an open,
 ' kind confidence and trust, and that made
 ' all my service agreeable; and it is not
 ' possible to lose it without a mortification
 ' too great to be passed with silence, being
 ' sure I have never done any thing to for-
 ' feit it, having never betrayed nor abused

O

' that

' that confidence, by giving you a false re-
 ' presentation of any body. My temper
 ' is naturally plain and sincere, and Mrs.
 ' MORLEY did like it for many years. It
 ' is not in the least altered. But I can't
 ' help thinking those things reasonable that
 ' appear to be so. And I appeal to God
 ' Almighty, that I never designed or pur-
 ' sued any thing, but as I was thoroughly
 ' convinced it was for MRS. MORLEY'S
 ' true interest and honour: And, I think,
 ' I may safely put it to that trial, if any
 ' thing has yet proved unsuccessful, that
 ' was of any publick consequence, that
 ' MRS. FREEMAN has been earnest to per-
 ' suade MRS. MORLEY to. And it is not
 ' possible for me to dissemble so as to appear
 ' what I am not.

' So much by way of apology for what
 ' happened upon wednesday last. And if
 ' MRS. MORLEY has any remains of the
 ' tenderness she once professed for her faith-
 ' ful FREEMAN, I would beg she might be
 ' treated one of these two ways, either with
 ' the openness and confidence of a friend,

as

as she was for twenty years; (for to pretend
 kindness without trust and openness of heart
 is a treatment for children, not friends;) or
 else in that manner, that is necessary for
 the post she is in, which unavoidably forces
 her to be often troubling MRS. MORLEY
 upon the account of others. And if she
 pleases to chuse which of these ways, or
 any other she likes to have MRS. FREE-
 MAN live in, she promises to follow any
 rule that is laid down that is possible, and
 is resolved to her life's end, and upon all
 occasions to shew, that MRS. MORLEY ne-
 ver had a more faithful servant.

MY LORD MARLBOROUGH OR MY LORD
 GODOLPHIN (I have forgot which) carried my
 letter. The QUEEN took no notice of it to
 either of these lords. But some days after she
 wrote me an answer, in which she very much
 softened what had past. I was much pleased to
 find HER MAJESTY in that disposition; and
 once more put on as easy an appearance as I
 could.

But in a very short time after this, the
 great breach at court became public. LORD

MARLBOROUGH and LORD GODOLPHIN had often told the QUEEN in the most respectful manner, that it was impossible for them to do her any service, while MR. HARLEY was in her confidence. HER MAJESTY nevertheless seemed determined not to part with him; till at length those two lords, being urged by necessity to it, declared their resolution to serve no longer with him, and they absented themselves from the council. MR. HARLEY would have proceeded to business without them when the council met, but the DUKE OF SOMERSET said, he did not see how it could be to any purpose, when neither the general nor the treasurer was present; whereupon the council immediately broke up. This had such an effect upon the QUEEN, that, very soon after, MR. HARLEY was dismissed from his post.

Such a compliance with the ministers seemed to the eyes of the world a very great concession, but was in truth nothing. For it was evident by what followed, that this appearance of giving up MR. HARLEY was with his own consent, and by his own advice, who, as long as MRS. MASHAM continued in favour, would,

would, under pretence of visiting her, (who was his cousin) have all the opportunities he could wish for, of practising upon the passions and credulity of the QUEEN; and the method of corresponding with him had been settled some time before; I was fully apprized of all this; yet I resolved to try, if by being easy and quiet I could regain any influence with HER MAJESTY. She had given me some encouragement to hope it. For when, a little before MR. HARLEY's dismissal, LORD MARLBOROUGH resolved to quit the service, and when on that occasion I had with tears (which a tender concern at the thought of parting from HER MAJESTY made me shed) represented to her, that if the DUKE retired, it would be improper, and even impossible, for me to stay at court after him, she declared, *that she could not bear the thought of my leaving her, and that it never must be.* And at that time she made me a promise that if ever I should leave her, (*which she again said must never be*) she would bestow my offices among my children.

Nay, the whigs had some reason to flatter themselves about this time, that HER MAJESTY

would become better disposed to them, than she had hitherto been.

The Pretender's attempt to land in Scotland, which happened about this time, gave her an alarm, that seemed to bring a conviction along with it, *that the whigs were the most to be depended upon for the support of her government*; at least what she said in her answer to the lords address, upon the occasion, had this appearance. But as the danger presently blew over, and as her fears ceased with the cause of them, so all the hope which the whigs had raised in themselves from those fears, presently vanished.

However, by the manner in which HER MAJESTY wrote to THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, in a letter dated May 6, 1708. she seems still to have retained a great degree of regard for *him*. After complaining to him of being so tired, that day, with importunities from whigs, that she had not spirits left to open her afflicted heart so freely and fully as she intended, she goes on to say, she is entirely of his opinion, thinking it neither for her honour nor interest to make steps (meaning the first steps) towards a peace, as the

DUKE had been pressed to do abroad ; and assures him, that whatever insinuations her enemies might make to the contrary, she would never give her consent to a peace, but upon safe and honourable terms. She begs the DUKE to be so just to her, as not to let the misrepresentations, made of her, have any weight with him : Adding, that it would be a greater trouble to her than could be expressed, and concludes with these words, — ‘ I cannot end without begging you to be very careful of yourself, there being no body, I am sure, that prays more heartily than her, who will live and die most sincerely yours, &c.’

The campaign of 1708. proved very glorious to THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH by the victory at Oudenarde, the taking of Lifle, and the saving of Bruffels.

HER MAJESTY, on occasion of the victory, wrote the following letter to him.

‘ Windsor, July the 6th. 1708.

‘ I want words to express the joy I have that you are well, after your glorious success ; for which, next to GOD Almighty,

' my thanks are due to you. And indeed I
 ' can never say enough for all the great and
 ' faithful services you have ever done me.
 ' But be so just as to believe, I am as truly
 ' sensible of them as a grateful heart can be,
 ' and shall be ready to shew it upon all oc-
 ' casions. I hope you cannot doubt of my
 ' esteem and friendship for you, nor think
 ' that because I differ with you in some
 ' things, it is for want of either : no, I do as-
 ' sure you. If you were here, I am sure you
 ' would not think me so much in the wrong
 ' in some things, as I fear you do now. I
 ' am afraid my letter should come too late
 ' to London, and therefore dare say no more,
 ' but that I pray God Almighty to continue
 ' his protection over you, and send you safe
 ' home again. And be assured I shall ever
 ' be sincerely your

' *Humble servant.*

To this the DUKE answered,

July 23, 1708.

' MADAM,
 ' I have the honour of YOUR MAJESTY'S
 ' letter

‘ letter of the 6th, and am very thankful
 ‘ for all your goodness to me. And I am
 ‘ sure it will always be my intention, as well
 ‘ as duty to be ready to venture my life for
 ‘ your service.

‘ As I have formerly told YOUR MAJES-
 ‘ TY that I am desirous to serve you in the
 ‘ army, but not as a minister, I am every
 ‘ day more and more confirmed in that opi-
 ‘ nion. And I think myself obliged upon
 ‘ all accounts, on this occasion, to speak my
 ‘ mind freely to you. The circumstances
 ‘ in this last battle, I think, shew the hand
 ‘ of God ; for we were obliged not only to
 ‘ march five leagues that morning, but to
 ‘ pass a river before the enemy, and to en-
 ‘ gage them before the whole army was pas-
 ‘ sed, which was a visible mark of the favour
 ‘ of heaven to you and your arms.

‘ YOUR MAJESTY shall be convinced from
 ‘ this time, that I have no ambition, or
 ‘ any thing to ask for my self or family.
 ‘ But I will end the few years which I have
 ‘ to live in endeavouring to serve you, and
 ‘ to give God Almighty thanks for his in-
 ‘ finite goodness to me. But as I have
 ‘ taken

' taken this resolution to my self, give me
 ' leave to say, that I think you are obliged
 ' in conscience, and as a good Christian, to
 ' forgive, and to have no more resentments
 ' to any particular person or party, but to
 ' make use of such as will carry on this just
 ' war with vigour ; which is the only way
 ' to preserve our religion and liberties, and
 ' the crown on your head. Which that you
 ' may long enjoy, and be a blessing to your
 ' people, shall be the constant wish and
 ' prayer of him, that is with the greatest
 ' truth and duty,

' Madam, &c.'

But now, what was very strange, the
 successes of MY LORD MARLBOROUGH this
 year seemed rather to lower his credit with
 HER MAJESTY, than to raise it; a thing so
 extremely out of the common course of na-
 ture, that no one, I think, can doubt of it's
 being the pure effect of art, the product of
 that wonderful talent MR. HARLEY pos-
 sessed, in the supreme degree, of confound-
 ing the common sense of mankind.

The DUKE was perfectly sensible of the change in HER MAJESTY towards him, and having complained of it in a letter to me, I sent this letter to her, inclosed in the following one from myself.

‘ I cannot help sending YOUR MAJESTY
 ‘ this letter, to shew how exactly LORD
 ‘ MARLBOROUGH agrees with me in my opi-
 ‘ nion, that he has now no interest with you :
 ‘ Though when I said so in the church on
 ‘ * thursday, you were pleased to say it
 ‘ was untrue. And yet I think he will be
 ‘ surprized to hear that when I had taken
 ‘ so much pains to put your jewels in a way
 ‘ that I thought you would like, Mrs. MA-
 ‘ SHAM could make you refuse to wear
 ‘ them, in so unkind a manner ; because
 ‘ that was a power she had not thought fit
 ‘ to exercise before. I will make no reflecti-
 ‘ ons upon it ; only that I must needs observe,
 ‘ that YOUR MAJESTY chose a very wrong
 ‘ day to mortify me, when you were just
 ‘ going to return thanks for a victory obtain-
 ‘ ed by LORD MARLBOROUGH.’

* 19 Aug. 1708.

In

In answer to this, HER MAJESTY was pleased to write to me these few words.

Sunday.

‘ After the *commands* you gave me on the
 ‘ thanksgiving day of not answering you,
 ‘ I should not have troubled you with these
 ‘ lines, but to return THE DURE OF MARL-
 ‘ BROUGH’S letter safe into your hands,
 ‘ and for the same reason do not say any
 ‘ thing to that, nor to yours which enclosed
 ‘ it.’

Upon receiving so extraordinary a letter, I could not avoid writing again as follows.

‘ I should not trouble YOUR MAJESTY
 ‘ with any answer to your last short letter,
 ‘ but to explain what you seem to mistake
 ‘ in what I said at church. I desired you
 ‘ not to answer me there for fear of being
 ‘ overheard: And this you interpret as if I
 ‘ had desired you not to answer me at all;
 ‘ which was far from my intention. For
 ‘ the whole end of my writing to you so
 ‘ often,

‘ often, was to get your answer to several
 ‘ things in which we differed, that if I was
 ‘ in the wrong, you might convince me of
 ‘ it, and I should very readily have owned
 ‘ my mistakes. But since you have not been
 ‘ pleased to show them to me, I flatter my-
 ‘ self that I have said several things to you
 ‘ that are unanswerable. And I hope some
 ‘ time or other you will find leisure to reflect
 ‘ upon them, and will convince LORD MARL-
 ‘ BROUGH, that he is mistaken in think-
 ‘ ing that he has no credit with you, by
 ‘ hearkning sometimes to his advice ; and
 ‘ then I hope you will never more be trou-
 ‘ bled with disagreeable letters from me :
 ‘ for I should be much better pleased to say
 ‘ and do every thing you like. But I should
 ‘ think myself wanting in my duty to you,
 ‘ if I saw you so much in the wrong, as
 ‘ without prejudice or passion, I really think
 ‘ you are in several particulars I have men-
 ‘ tioned, and did not tell you of it. And
 ‘ the rather, because no body else cares to
 ‘ speak out upon so ungrateful a subject.
 ‘ The word *command*, which you use at the
 ‘ beginning of your letter, is very unfitly
 ‘ supposed

‘ supposed to come from me. For though
 ‘ I have always writ to you as a friend, and
 ‘ lived with you as such for so many years
 ‘ with all the truth and honesty and zeal for
 ‘ your service that was possible, yet I shall ne-
 ‘ ver forget that I am your subject, nor cease
 ‘ to be a faithful one.’

Through the whole summer after Mr. HARLEY'S dismissal, the QUEEN continued to have secret correspondence with him. And that this might be the better managed, she staid all the sultry season, even when the PRINCE was panting for breath, in that small house, she had formerly purchased at Windsor, which, though as hot as an oven, was then said to be cool, because from the park such persons, as Mrs. MASHAM had a mind to bring to HER MAJESTY, could be let in privately by the garden.

And when upon the death of the PRINCE, one would have thought that HER MAJESTY'S real grief would have made her avoid every place and every object that might sensibly revive the remembrance of her loss, she chose for her place of retirement his closet, and for

some weeks, spent many hours in it every day. I was amazed at this; and when I spoke to her of it, she seemed surprised, just like a person who on a sudden becomes sensible of her having done something she would not have done, had she duly considered. But the true reason of HER MAJESTY's chusing this closet to sit in, was, that the back-stairs belonging to it came from MRS. MASHAM's lodgings, who by that means could secretly bring to her whom she pleased.

And that a correspondence was thus carried on with MR. HARLEY, became every day more and more manifest by the difficulties and objections which HER MAJESTY had learnt to raise against almost every thing proposed by her ministers. Nay, it is well known, that MR. HARLEY and his associates, when at length they had compassed their designs, and got into the management of affairs, did often (both in their cups and out of them) boast that they, while the QUEEN's ministers were asleep, were frequently at court giving advice in secret, how to perplex them in all their measures.

But

But they were much mistaken, if they imagined that their proceedings at the time I am speaking of, were so entirely covered. The ministers were fully convinced of the truth, and frequently represented to HER MAJESTY, what a discouragement it was to them in their endeavours for her service, to find that she had no confidence in them, but was influenced by the counsel of others who counterworked them in every instance. Upon this subject, I myself wrote and spoke a great deal to her with my usual plainness and zeal. But finding, not only that I could make no impression on her in this respect, but that her change towards *me* in particular was every day more and more apparent, I at length went to her, and beg'd to know what my crime was, that had wrought in her so great an alteration. This drew from the QUEEN a letter, dated October 26, 1709. wherein she charges me *with inveteracy* (as her word is) *against poor MASHAM*, and *with having nothing so much at heart as the ruin of my cousin*. In speaking of the misunderstandings betwixt HER MAJESTY and me, she says, they are *for nothing that she knows of, but because*
she

She cannot see with my eyes, and hear with my ears. And adds, that it is impossible for me to recover her former kindness, but that she shall behave herself to me, as the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH's wife, and her groom of the stole. This declaration so plain and express of HER MAJESTY's thorough change towards me, was the more extraordinary, as in this same letter are these words, *you have asked me once or twice if you had committed any fault that I was so changed, and I told you, no; because I do not think it a crime in any one not to be of my mind.*

Upon receipt of this letter, I immediately set myself to draw up a long narrative of a series of faithful services for about 26 years past; of the great sense the QUEEN formerly had of my services; of the great favour I had been honoured with on account of them; of the use I had made of that favour; and of my losing it now by the artifice of my enemies, and particularly of one, whom I had raised out of the dust. And knowing how great a respect HER MAJESTY had for the writings of certain eminent divines, I added

to my narrative, the directions given by the author of the *whole duty of man* with relation to friendship; the directions in the *common prayer book* before the communion with regard to reconciliation, together with the rules laid down by bishop TAYLOR upon the same head; and I concluded with giving my word to HER MAJESTY, that if after reading these, she would please only to answer in two words, that she was still of the same opinion, as when she wrote that harsh letter, which occasioned her this trouble, I would never more give her the least trouble upon any subject, but the business of my office, as long as I should have the honour to continue her servant; assuring her, that however she might be changed towards me, and how much soever we might still differ in opinion, I should ever remember that she was my mistress and my QUEEN, and should always pay her the respect due from a faithful servant and dutiful subject.

I sent from St. Albans this narrative, which she promised to read and answer. And ten days after, writing to me upon another

other occasion, she said she had not leisure yet to read all my papers, but when she had, she would send me some answer. But none ever came ; nor had my papers any apparent effect on HER MAJESTY, except that, after my coming to town, as she was passing by me, in order to receive the communion, she looked with much good nature and very graciously smiled upon me. But the smile and pleasant look I had reason afterwards to think were given to bishop TAYLOR and the *common prayer book*, and not to me.

In the beginning of January 1709-10. the EARL OF ESSEX died ; and the QUEEN presently wrote to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH to give his regiment to MR. HILL, a man who had been basely ungrateful to me who raised him ; and whose sister, MRS. MASHAM, the DUKE well knew was at this time undermining the interest of himself, his family and friends.

The scheme of the QUEEN's new counsellors to make her ministers quit her service, or engage her to discard them, began

now to appear without disguise. They durst not tell HER MAJESTY at once all they designed, but, proposing to her only one thing at a time, led her by insensible degrees to the accomplishment of the whole. They began, as I before observed, with engaging her to nominate persons to bishopricks without consulting her ministers. And now they prevailed with her to appoint military officers, without advising with her general. And nothing could be more to their purpose, than this choice of MR. HILL for LORD ESSEX's regiment, because they knew that nothing could be more disagreeable to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, or would tend more to lessen his weight and authority in the army, and consequently at home too. The new counsellors saw that if the DUKE readily yielded in this matter, it would sow discontent among the officers, and that a door would be opened for his enemies to come into the army and insult him. And on the other hand, if the DUKE should not comply, or should show any reluctance in complying, this would furnish

an excellent pretence for grievous complaints and outcries, *that the QUEEN was but a cypher and could do nothing*. It was indeed by representing her to herself, as a slave to the MARLBOROUGH family, that they worked upon her passions; while at the same time (as is too evident) they meant to make her in reality *their* slave, to do for them those drudgeries that would dishonour her, instead of following the counsels of ministers, whose fidelity she had experienced, and who had carried her glory to the highest pitch.

Upon this message from the QUEEN, the DUKE waited upon her, and with all humility represented to her, what a prejudice it would be to her service, to have so young an officer preferred before so many others of higher rank and longer service. Besides, that the shewing so extraordinary and partial favour to MRS. MASHAM's brother, could be interpreted no otherwise than as a declaring against all those who had so much reason to be uneasy with her; and that indeed it would be setting up a banner for all

the discontented persons in the army to repair to. In short, the DUKE said every thing he could think of, and with all the moving concern that the nature of the affair created in him, to engage HER MAJESTY to change her resolution. But all seemed to no purpose. He could not draw one kind expression from her, nor obtain any answer, but *that he would do well to advise with his friends.*

LORD GODOLPHIN spoke often to her upon the same subject, representing to her the DUKE's long, great, and faithful services, and the very bad influence which her intended favour to MR. HILL must necessarily have in the army. But neither had this so much effect as to engage her to say one favourable word about the DUKE. On the 15th of January therefore he left the town and went to Windsor in great discontent. It was council-day. The QUEEN did not ask where he was, nor take the least notice of his absence. His withdrawing himself made a great noise in the town. Many of the nobility spoke with earnestness to
the

the QUEEN of the very ill consequences of mortifying a man, who had done her so long and important services. HER MAJESTY answered, that his services were still fresh in her memory, and that she had as much kindness for him as ever she had. The noise however still continued and increased, and there was great discourse, not without probability, that some notice would be taken of the matter in the house of commons, and some votes past disagreeable to HER MAJESTY and her new counsellors. This design was laid to my charge, but I said enough to the QUEEN to vindicate myself from it. And it was indeed owing to the DUKE's particular friends in the house, that no such notice was taken.

The new counsellors being alarmed with apprehensions of what the parliament might do, and believing that they should be able at a proper season to make better use of the QUEEN's yielding up the point, than of her insisting upon it, gave her advice accordingly: so that January the 20th, she ordered LORD GODOLPHIN to write to the

DUKE, *that he might dispose of the regiment as he himself thought fit*: and to desire him to come to town. But before this reached LORD MARLBOROUGH, he had written the following letter to the QUEEN.

‘ MADAM,

‘ By what I hear from London, I find
 ‘ YOUR MAJESTY is pleased to think, that
 ‘ when I have reflected, I must be of opi-
 ‘ nion, that you are in the right in giving
 ‘ MR. HILL the EARL OF ESSEX’s regiment.
 ‘ I beg YOUR MAJESTY will be so just to
 ‘ me, as not to think I can be so unrea-
 ‘ sonable, as to be mortified to the degree
 ‘ that I am, if it proceeded only from this
 ‘ one thing; for I shall always be ready and
 ‘ glad to do every thing that is agreeable
 ‘ to you, after I have represented what may
 ‘ be a prejudice to your service. But this
 ‘ is only one of a great many mortifications,
 ‘ that I have met with. And as I may
 ‘ not have many opportunities of writing
 ‘ to you, let me beg of YOUR MAJESTY
 ‘ to reflect what your own people, and the
 ‘ rest

' rest of the world must think, who have
 ' been witnesses of the love, zeal and du-
 ' ty, with which I have served you, when
 ' they shall see that after all I have done,
 ' it has not been able to protect me against
 ' the malice of a bed-chamber woman.
 ' YOUR MAJESTY will allow me on this
 ' occasion to re-mind you of what I writ
 ' to you the last campaign, of the certain
 ' knowledge I had of MRS. MASHAM's
 ' having assured MR. HARLEY, that I
 ' should receive such constant mortificati-
 ' ons, as should make it impossible for me
 ' to continue in your service. God Al-
 ' mighty and the whole world are my wit-
 ' nesses, with what care and pains I have
 ' served you for more than twenty years,
 ' and I was resolved, if possible, to have
 ' struggled with the difficulties to the end
 ' of this war. But the many instances I
 ' have had of YOUR MAJESTY's great
 ' change to me, has so broke my spirits,
 ' that I must beg as the greatest and last
 ' favour, that you will approve of my re-
 ' tiring, so that I may employ the little
 ' time

' time I have to live, in making my just
 ' acknowledgments to God, for the pro-
 ' tection he has been pleased to give me.
 ' And YOUR MAJESTY may be assured
 ' that my zeal for you and my country is so
 ' great, that in my retirement I shall daily
 ' pray for your prosperity, and that those,
 ' who shall serve you as faithfully as I have
 ' done, may never feel the hard return
 ' that I have met with.

The QUEEN wrote him an answer, ex-
 pressing some concern at several parts of his
 letter, assuring him, without entring into
 particulars, that he had no ground for sus-
 picions, and desiring him to come to town.

But fearing at the same time that some
 motion might be made in parliament against
 MRS. MASHAM, which might be attended
 with very disagreeable consequences, she
 sent about in much concern, to many per-
 sons to stand by her, as if some great attack
 were going to be made upon her. This
 application and the closetting some persons,
 who were known enemies to the Revoluti-
 on,

on, gave encouragement to the Jacobites; several of whom were now observed running to court with faces full of business and satisfaction, as if they were going to get the government into their hands. And this being represented to the QUEEN, as a kind of victory gained by her over the MARLBOROUGH family, was doubtless one means of hindering all thoughts of a real accommodation.

In about a month after this, both houses of parliament addressed the QUEEN, to order the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH over into Holland, to attend to the great affair of a peace, (towards which there were then some overtures) and in case that project did not take effect, to prepare for an early opening the campaign.

The QUEEN in her answer to that address used these words, — ‘I am very glad
‘ to find by this address, that you concur
‘ with me in a just sense of the DUKE OF
‘ MARLBOROUGH’s eminent services.’

But notwithstanding this, he had not been long gone, before HER MAJESTY gave
a signal

a signal proof how much his declared enemies were in her favour, by granting MR. HILL a pension of 1000 *l.* a year. (And in some time, she made both him and MR. MASHAM (men of little or no service) general officers, over the heads of many brave men, who had frequently hazarded their lives in her service, and had gone through the toils and hardships of a tedious war.)

In the mean time, as to myself, I learnt that the QUEEN was made to believe, that I often spoke of her in company disrespectfully. As I knew myself wholly free from the guilt of this charge, and indeed incapable of it, I waited on HER MAJESTY the 3d of April 1710. and begged of her that she would be pleased to give me a private hour, because I had something which I was very desirous of saying to HER MAJESTY, before I went out of town. I named three several hours, in which I knew the QUEEN used to be alone, but she refused them all, in a very unusual and surprizing manner : and at last she herself appointed 6 o'clock

the

the next day, the hour for prayers, when she could least of all expect to be at leisure for any particular conversation. But even this small favour, though promised, was not thought advisable to be granted by her new counsellors. For, that night, she wrote a letter to me, in which she desired me *to lay before her in writing whatever I had to say, and to gratify myself in going into the country as soon as I could.* I took the first opportunity of waiting upon the QUEEN again, and used all the arguments I could to obtain a private hour; alledging, that when her MAJESTY should hear what I had to say, she would herself perceive it impossible to put things of that nature into writing; that I was now going out of town for a great while, and perhaps should never have occasion to give her a like trouble as long as I lived. The QUEEN refused it several times in a manner hard to be described, but at last appointed the next day after dinner. Yet upon farther consideration it was thought advisable to break this appointment: for, the next morning, she

wrote

wrote to me to let me know, *that she should dine at Kensington, and that she once more desired me to put my thoughts into writing.*

To this I wrote an answer, begging that HER MAJESTY would give me leave to follow her to Kensington; and, that she might not apprehend a greater trouble than she would receive, I assured HER MAJESTY, that what I had to say, would not create any dispute or uneasiness, (it relating only to the clearing myself from some things which, I had heard, had very wrongfully been laid to my charge,) and could have no consequence, either in obliging HER MAJESTY to answer, or to see me oftner than would be easy to her: adding, that if that afternoon were not convenient, I would come every day and wait till HER MAJESTY would please to allow me to speak to her. Upon the sixth of April I followed this letter to Kensington, and by that means prevented the QUEEN's writing again to me, as she was preparing to do. The page who went in to acquaint the QUEEN, that I was come to wait upon her, staid longer than usual;

usual; long enough, it is to be supposed, to give time to deliberate whether the favour of admission should be granted, and to settle the measures of behaviour if I were admitted. But at last he came out, and told me I might go in. As I was entering the QUEEN said, she was just going to write to me. And, when I began to speak, she interrupted me four or five times with these repeated words, ‘ *whatever you have to say, you may put it in writing.*’ I said, HER MAJESTY never did so hard a thing to any, as to refuse to hear them speak, and assured her, that I was not going to trouble her upon the subject which I knew to be so ungrateful to her, but that I could not possibly rest, till I had cleared myself from some particular calumnies with which I had been loaded. I then went on to speak (though the QUEEN turned away her face from me) and to represent my hard case; that there were those about HER MAJESTY, who had made her believe that I had said things of her, which I was no more capable of saying than of killing
my

my own children; that I seldom named HER MAJESTY in company, and never without respect, and the like. The QUEEN said, *without doubt there were many lies told.* I then begged, in order to make this trouble the shorter, and my own innocence the plainer, that I might know the particulars of which I had been accused. Because, if I were guilty, that would quickly appear; and if I were innocent, this method only would clear me. The QUEEN replied, that *she would give me no answer,* laying hold on a word in my letter, that what I had to say in my own vindication, *would have no consequence in obliging HER MAJESTY to answer, &c.* which surely did not at all imply, that I did not desire to know the particular things laid to my charge, without which it was impossible for me to clear myself. This I assured HER MAJESTY was all I desired, and that *I did not ask the names of the authors or relators of those calumnies,* saying all that I could think reasonable, to inforce my just request. But the QUEEN repeated again and
again

again the words she had used, without ever receding. And it is probable that this conversation had never been consented to, but that HER MAJESTY had been carefully provided with those words, as a shield to defend her against every reason I could offer. I protested to HER MAJESTY, that I had no design, in giving her this trouble, to solicit the return of her favour, but that my sole view was to clear myself; which was too just a design to be wholly disappointed by HER MAJESTY. Upon this the QUEEN offered to go out of the room, I following her, and begging leave to clear myself; and the QUEEN repeating over and over again, *you desired no answer, and shall have none*. When she came to the door, I fell into great disorder; streams of tears flow'd down against my will, and prevented my speaking for some time. At length I recovered myself, and appealed to the QUEEN, in the vehemence of my concern, whether I might not still have been happy in HER MAJESTY'S favour, if I could have contradicted or dissembled my real opinion of

Q. men,

men, or things? whether I had ever, during our long friendship, told her one lie or play'd the hypocrite once? whether I had offended in any thing, unless in a very zealous pressing upon her, that which I thought necessary for her service and security? I then said I was informed by a very reasonable and credible person about the court, that things were laid to my charge, of which I was wholly incapable; that this person knew that such stories were perpetually told to HER MAJESTY to incense her, and had beg'd of me to come and vindicate myself; that the same person had thought me of late guilty of some omissions towards HER MAJESTY, being entirely ignorant how uneasy to her my frequent attendance must be, after what had happened between us. I explained some things which I had heard HER MAJESTY had taken amiss of me, and then with a fresh flood of tears, and a concern sufficient to move compassion, even where all love was absent, I begged to know what other particulars she had heard of me, that I might not be denied

all

all power of justifying myself. But still the only return was, *you desired no answer, and you shall have none.* I then begged to know if HER MAJESTY would tell me some other time?—*You desired no answer, and you shall have none.* I then appealed to HER MAJESTY again, if she did not herself know that I had often despised interest in comparison of serving her faithfully and doing right? And whether she did not know me to be of a temper incapable of disowning any thing which I knew to be true?—*You desired no answer, and you shall have none.* This usage was so severe; and these words, so often repeated, were so shocking (being an utter denial of common justice to one who had been a most faithful servant, and now asked nothing more) that I could not conquer myself, but said the most disrespectful thing I ever spoke to the QUEEN in my life, and yet, what such an occasion and such circumstances might well excuse, if not justify. And that was, that *I was confident* HER MAJESTY *would suffer for such an instance of inhumanity.*

The QUEEN answer'd, *that will be to myself.* Thus ended this remarkable conversation, the last I ever had with HER MAJESTY. I shall make no comment upon it. The QUEEN always meant well, how much soever she might be blinded or misguided. But in a letter, which I had from the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, about eight months before, there is something so pertinent to the present occasion, that I cannot forbear transcribing the passage.

‘ Aug. 26, 1709.

—‘ It has always been my observation
 ‘ in disputes, especially in that of kindness
 ‘ and friendship, that all reproaches, though
 ‘ ever so just, serve to no end but making
 ‘ the breach wider. I cannot help being
 ‘ of opinion, that however insignificant we
 ‘ may be, there is a power above, that puts
 ‘ a period to our happiness or unhappiness.
 ‘ If any body had told me, eight years ago,
 ‘ that after such great success, and after
 ‘ you had been a faithful servant 27 years,
 ‘ that even in the QUEEN’s life-time, we
 ‘ should

‘ should be obliged to seek happiness in a
 ‘ retired life, I could not have believed that
 ‘ possible.’

I never saw the QUEEN after the interview I have been speaking of, nor ever had any correspondence with her, except on two occasions relating to the publick, one of which I shall now mention, because it was the very next day after our parting. I received a letter from LORD MARLBOROUGH, with one enclosed to LORD GODOLPHIN, who was then at New-market, and whose letters, at such times, and when dispatch was required, I had the privilege to open. In this letter the DUKE gave LORD GODOLPHIN an account of a man then coming to England, who, as PRINCE EUGENE informed him, had been guilty of many vile practices at Vienna, and was a very great villain, desiring that he might not be admitted to see the QUEEN, but be immediately sent out of England. Hereupon I wrote a letter to HER MAJESTY, in which, after saying that I thought it my duty to

impart to her without delay what so nearly concerned her, I added, that I could not forbear taking notice of the usage I had met with, the day before, when I waited upon her; and when my only business was to beg to be heard on a point that touched me very sensibly, in order to clear myself from what had been laid to my charge, if I were innocent; or to beg pardon, if in any thing I had done amiss.

All the answer I received to this letter was in these few words, dated from Kensington.

‘ I received yours, with one enclosed
 ‘ from the D. of M. to lord treasurer,
 ‘ just as I was coming down stairs from
 ‘ St. James’s, so could not return the enclosed back, till I came to this place.’

But notwithstanding this thorough alienation of the QUEEN’S affections from me, I was not yet divested of my employments. Perhaps it was not yet determined who should succeed me, nor whether it were proper that LORD MARLBOROUGH should have that mortification, before the season was fully ripe for the execution of the new
 4 scheme.

scheme. Matters had been greatly advanced towards maturity by the business of SACHEVEREL, which had engaged the attention of the nation for the greater part of the last winter. Every body knows that whole story, and the terrible cry that was raised about the danger of the church, from the attempt that was made in a parliamentary way, to punish an ignorant, impudent incendiary, a man who was the scorn even of those, who made use of him as a tool. I shall only observe that the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY, who had voted for the acquittal of that scurrilous declaimer against the QUEEN's ministers, was, in about three weeks after, appointed lord chamberlain by HER MAJESTY.

When the QUEEN had resolved to make this step, she thought fit to write to MY LORD GODOLPHIN, then at New-market, to acquaint him with her resolution, and that she hoped she should have his approbation in this and all her actions. The answer which he returned to HER MAJESTY is so great a proof of his honest heart and

clear understanding, and of the injustice of those whigs, who did not scruple to call in question his zeal and even his sincerity in their cause, that I think it is but discharging a debt I owe to his memory, to give a copy of his letter.

‘ New-market, April 15, 1710.

‘ I have the honour of YOUR MAJESTY’S
 ‘ letter of the 13th, by which I have the
 ‘ grief to find that what you are pleased to
 ‘ call spleen in my former letter, was only
 ‘ a true impulse and conviction of mind,
 ‘ that YOUR MAJESTY is suffering yourself
 ‘ to be guided to your own ruin and de-
 ‘ struction as fast as it is possible for them
 ‘ to compass it, to whom you seem so much
 ‘ to hearken.

‘ I am not therefore so much surprized,
 ‘ as concerned at the resolution which YOUR
 ‘ MAJESTY says you have taken, of bring-
 ‘ ing in the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY. For
 ‘ when people began to be sensible it would
 ‘ be difficult to persuade YOUR MAJESTY
 ‘ to dissolve a parliament, which, for two
 winters

‘ winters together, had given you above fix
 ‘ millions a year for the support of a war,
 ‘ upon which your crown depends; even
 ‘ while that war is still subsisting, they
 ‘ have had the cunning to contrive this
 ‘ propofal to YOUR MAJESTY, which in it’s
 ‘ consequence will certainly put you under
 ‘ a neceffity of breaking the parliament,
 ‘ though contrary (I yet believe) to your
 ‘ mind and intention.

‘ I beg YOUR MAJESTY to be perfuaded,
 ‘ I do not fay this out of the leaft prejudice to
 ‘ the DUKE OF SHREWSBURY. There is no
 ‘ man of whose capacity I have had a bet-
 ‘ ter impreffion, nor with whom I have
 ‘ lived more eafily and freely for above
 ‘ twenty years. YOUR MAJESTY may please
 ‘ to remember, that at your first coming to
 ‘ the crown, I was defirous he fhould have
 ‘ had one of the chief pofts in your fervice;
 ‘ and it would have been happy for YOUR
 ‘ MAJESTY and the kingdom, if he had
 ‘ accepted that offer: But he thought fit
 ‘ to decline it, and the reafons generally
 ‘ given at that time for his doing fo, do
 ‘ not

' not much recommend him to YOUR MA-
 ' JESTY's service. But I must endeavour
 ' to let YOUR MAJESTY see things as
 ' they really are. And to bring him into
 ' your service and into your business at this
 ' time, just after his being in a publick
 ' open conjunction in every vote with the
 ' whole body of the Tories, and in a pri-
 ' vate, constant correspondence and ca-
 ' balling with MR. HARLEY in every thing,
 ' what consequence can this possibly have,
 ' but to make every man that is now in
 ' your cabinet council, except

to run from it as they
 ' would from the plague. And I leave it to
 ' YOUR MAJESTY to judge, what effect this
 ' entire change of your ministers will have
 ' among your allies abroad, and how well
 ' this war is like to be carried on, in their
 ' opinion, by those who have all along op-
 ' posed and obstructed it, and who will like
 ' any peace the better, the more it leaves
 ' France at liberty, to take their time of
 ' imposing the Pretender upon this country.

' These considerations must certainly
 ' make

‘ make Holland run immediately into a se-
 ‘ parate peace with France, and make YOUR
 ‘ MAJESTY lose all the honour, and all the
 ‘ reputation your arms had acquired by
 ‘ the war; and make the kingdom lose
 ‘ all the fruits of that vast expence which
 ‘ they have been at in this war, as well as
 ‘ all the advantage and safety which they
 ‘ had so much need of, and had so fair a
 ‘ prospect of obtaining by it. And can any
 ‘ body imagine that after so great a disap-
 ‘ pointment to the kingdom, there will not
 ‘ be an enquiry into the causes of it; and
 ‘ who have been the occasion of so great
 ‘ a change in YOUR MAJESTY’S measures
 ‘ and counsels, which had been so long
 ‘ succesful, and gotten you so great a
 ‘ name in the world? I am very much
 ‘ afraid YOUR MAJESTY will find, when it
 ‘ is too late, that it will be a pretty difficult
 ‘ task for any body to stand against such
 ‘ an enquiry. I am sure if I did not think all
 ‘ these consequences inevitable, I would ne-
 ‘ ver give YOUR MAJESTY the trouble and
 ‘ uneasiness of laying them before you. But,
 ‘ persuaded

‘ persuaded as I am that YOUR MAJESTY
 ‘ will find them so, it is my indispensable duty
 ‘ to do it out of pure faithfulness and zeal
 ‘ for YOUR MAJESTY’s service and ho-
 ‘ nour. YOUR MAJESTY’s having taken a
 ‘ resolution of so much consequence to all
 ‘ your affairs both at home and abroad, with-
 ‘ out acquainting the DUKE OF MARL-
 ‘ BOROUGH or me with it, till after you
 ‘ had taken it, is the least part of my mor-
 ‘ tification in this whole affair. Though
 ‘ perhaps the world may think the long
 ‘ and faithful services we have constantly
 ‘ and zealously endeavoured to do YOUR
 ‘ MAJESTY, might have deserved a little
 ‘ more consideration. However for my
 ‘ own part, I most humbly beg leave to
 ‘ assure YOUR MAJESTY, I will never give
 ‘ the least obstruction to your measures, or
 ‘ to any ministers you shall please to employ.
 ‘ And I must beg further, to make two hum-
 ‘ ble requests to YOUR MAJESTY, the one,
 ‘ that you will allow me to pass the re-
 ‘ mainder of my life always out of London,
 ‘ where I may find most ease and quiet. The
 ‘ other,

‘ other, that you would keep this letter and
 ‘ read it again about next Christmas, and
 ‘ then be pleased to make your own judg-
 ‘ ment, who hath given you the best and
 ‘ most faithful advice.

I am, &c.

I think it is pretty plain from the QUEEN’S letter, to which, what I have just now given, was an answer, that her new counsellors did not open their whole scheme to her at once. For if they had, they certainly could never have engaged her to tell my LORD GODOLPHIN, that *she hoped he would approve of all her actions*. But they judged wisely, that passing on under their direction from one step to another, she would quickly come to a desperate necessity of going as far as they themselves wished.

About the beginning of June, the design of turning out LORD SUNDERLAND began to be talked of. LORD MARLBOROUGH was now abroad at the head of the army.

As soon as the news of this design reached him, he wrote a very moving let-

ter to the QUEEN, representing the very ill consequences it would necessarily have upon all affairs abroad, to have his son-in-law, against whose fidelity nothing could be objected, and in whom the allies had so entire a confidence, turned out of her service in the middle of a campaign; and begging it as a reward of all his past services, that she would at least delay her resolution till the campaign was ended. I was likewise urged by some friends to try to say something to divert if possible such a stroke; because it was given out that the QUEEN would do this chiefly on my account, that I might feel the effects of her displeasure in so sensible and tender a point. No consideration proper to myself, could have induced me to trouble the QUEEN again, after our last conversation: But I was overcome by the consideration of LORD MARLBOROUGH, LORD SUNDERLAND and the publick interest, and wrote in the best manner I could to the QUEEN *June 7, 1710.* begging, for LORD MARLBOROUGH's sake, that she would not give him such a
 blow,

blow, of which I dreaded the consequence, putting her in mind of her letter about the DUKE upon the victory at Blenheim; and adding the most solemn assurances, that I had not so much as a wish to remove MRS. MASHAM, and that all the noise which had been about an address for that purpose, had been occasioned by LORD MARLBOROUGH's discontents at that time, which most people thought were just. To this the QUEEN wrote a very short and harsh answer, complaining that I had broke my promise of not saying any thing of politicks, or of MRS. MASHAM; and concluding, that it was plain from this ill usage what she was to expect for the future.

I could not forbear, for my own vindication, to write a second letter, in which I assured HER MAJESTY, that I should not have troubled her with the first, but that I heard it reported, that the persecution, begun against LORD MARLBOROUGH and his family, was chiefly occasioned by HER MAJESTY's displeasure and aversion to me, as having promoted an address against MRS. MASHAM; that

that it was only to vindicate myself from that aspersi^on, that I had presumed to trouble her ; that I could not imagine it could be interpreted as an offence, to vindicate myself from what was now made the pretence for turning out LORD SUNDERLAND, and pushing LORD MARLBOROUGH to extremities ; that I had no reason to think, that the assuring HER MAJESTY, that I would never have any hand in any thing against MRS. MASHAM, could have been construed as an ungrateful speaking about her, or called a continuation of ill usage ; that I thought this was rather a complying with HER MAJESTY's inclination, and saying what she could not but approve ; that all the politicks in my letter was my concern for LORD MARLBOROUGH ; making it at last my most earnest request, that HER MAJESTY would only defer the blow till the end of the campaign. This, I added, I begged upon my knees, and left HER MAJESTY to judge whether, after such an expression, it was likely that I should ever enter into any thing that could displease her.

Whether

Whether my interfering in this matter hastened the execution of the design, I cannot say. Certain it is that it did not retard it, for LORD SUNDERLAND was presently after dismissed from his office. On which occasion several great men, who wished well to their country, and who feared that MY LORD MARLBOROUGH might in disgust quit the service, immediately wrote him a joint letter, which I shall here insert, in honour both of them and of the DUKE.

‘ MY LORD,

June 14, 1710.

‘ We should not have given your grace
 ‘ the trouble of this joint letter, but for
 ‘ the great concern and uneasiness in which
 ‘ we find you, on account of MY LORD SUN-
 ‘ DERLAND, by your letter of the 20th to
 ‘ my lord treasurer, which he has com-
 ‘ municated to us. That letter, as mov-
 ‘ ing and as reasonable as it was, has not
 ‘ hindered the seals from being taken this
 ‘ morning from MY LORD SUNDERLAND.
 ‘ No wonder then if the utmost endeavours
 ‘ which could be used to prevent it, and

R

‘ the

‘ the strong arguments which have been
 ‘ made of the ill consequences, that must
 ‘ attend such steps both at home and a-
 ‘ broad have met with so little success. We
 ‘ find ourselves so much afflicted with this
 ‘ misfortune, that we cannot but be ex-
 ‘ tremely sensible of the great mortification
 ‘ this must give you at this critical junc-
 ‘ ture, when you are every moment ha-
 ‘ zarding your life in the service of your
 ‘ country, and whilst the fate of Europe
 ‘ depends in so great a degree on your con-
 ‘ duct and good success: But we are also as
 ‘ fully convinced that it is impossible for your
 ‘ grace to quit the service at this time,
 ‘ without the utmost hazard to the whole
 ‘ alliance. And we must therefore conjure
 ‘ you by the glory you have already ob-
 ‘ tained, by the many services you have
 ‘ done your QUEEN and country, by the
 ‘ expectation you have justly raised in all
 ‘ Europe, and by all that is dear and tender
 ‘ to you at home, whose chief dependance
 ‘ is upon your success, that you would
 ‘ not leave this great work unfinished, but
 ‘ continue

continue at the head of the army. This we look upon as the most necessary step that can be taken to prevent the dissolution of this parliament. Your grace's compliance with this our earnest request would be the greatest obligation to us, and all that wish well to our country. And you may depend upon it, that the contrary will be the greatest satisfaction to your enemies. We are, MY LORD, your grace's most humble and obedient servants,

COWPER. C. DEVONSHIRE.

GODOLPHIN. ORFORD.

SOMERS. HALLIFAX.

NEWCASTLE. H. BOYLE.

The removal of MY LORD SUNDERLAND, who was so nearly allied to the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, as it had an immediate effect on the funds and the publick credit at home, so it gave an alarm to all the courts concerned in the grand alliance; an event, which brought the QUEEN's private counsellors under a fresh necessity of deceiving

her, and engaging her to promise what they had determined she should not perform. For not only the strongest assurances were given here, that there was no thought of any other changes, but MR. SECRETARY BOYLE had orders from the QUEEN to write to the foreign courts in her name, and assure them, that all their fears were groundless, and that she would continue the administration of her affairs in the hands of her present ministry, of whose abilities she had had so long experience. And yet in less than two months after this, and even the very day after the QUEEN had expressed her desire to MY LORD GODOLPHIN himself, that he would continue in her service, she dismissed him ; and her letter of order to him to break his staff, was sent by no worthier a messenger than a man in livery, to be left with his lordship's porter. A proceeding which in all it's parts would remain very unaccountable, if the QUEEN herself had not, to those who expostulated with her, made this undoubtedly true declaration, *that she was sorry for it, but could*

not help it. Unhappy necessity ! that urged her to dismiss a minister of MY LORD GODOLPHIN's experienced abilities and integrity, and to put into his place a person, whom I indeed should be at a loss to describe, but of whom a friend of mine, many years ago, drew the following just character.

‘ He was a cunning and a dark man, of
 ‘ too small abilities to do much good, but
 ‘ of all the qualities requisite to do mis-
 ‘ chief, and to bring on the ruin and de-
 ‘ struction of a nation. This mischievous
 ‘ darkness of his soul was written in his
 ‘ countenance, and plainly legible in a very
 ‘ odd look, disagreeable to every body at
 ‘ first sight, which being joined with a con-
 ‘ stant, awkward motion or rather agitation
 ‘ of his head and body, betrayed a turbu-
 ‘ lent dishonesty within, even in the midst
 ‘ of all those familiar airs, jocular bowing
 ‘ and smiling, which he always affected,
 ‘ to cover what could not be covered. He
 ‘ had long accustomed himself so much to

dissemble his real intentions, and to use
 the ambiguous and obscure way of speak-
 ing, that he could hardly ever be under-
 stood when he designed it, or be believed;
 when he never so much desired it. His
 natural temper led him to so expensive
 and profuse a way of living, that he had
 brought himself into great necessities,
 though he had long enjoyed the advan-
 tages of very great and profitable posts.
 One principal and very expensive piece
 of his art, in which he seems to have ex-
 celled all that went before him, was, to
 have in pay a great number of spies of
 all sorts, to let him into what was passing
 in all considerable families. It was re-
 markable, that when he came most into
 favour with the QUEEN, he was perhaps
 the only man, in whose ruin the two con-
 tending parties would have united, as one
 in whom there was no foundation to re-
 pose any confidence. And that when he
 came to have the greatest power with
 the QUEEN, he had lost all credit every
 where else.

The

The same necessity which forced HER MAJESTY to dismiss MY LORD GODOLPHIN from her service, rendered her irreconcilable to me, though by means of one person at court, who happened to be in good favour with her, I made all possible attempts to remove her unjust prejudices against me. I wrote to him long and plain accounts of what had past, justifying myself, and exposing the ingratitude as well as malice of my enemies: All which accounts he read to the QUEEN, but without any effect upon her. She said not a word to any of these representations, except one, wherein I had set forth the faithfulness and frugality, with which I had served her in my offices; and had complained of the attempts made by the agents of her new friends to vilify me, all over the nation, as one who had cheated my mistress of vast sums of money. HER MAJESTY, on this occasion, was pleased to say, *every body knows, cheating is not* THE DUTCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH's crime.

The same person, to try the QUEEN further, mentioned my coming to court, as what might be proper, on account of some *new clothes*, which, as groom of the stole, I had by HER MAJESTY's order bought for her. But she presently charged him to advise me, as from himself, not to come. And when after a very successful campaign, THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH was returned to London, the QUEEN most readily accepted the resignation, which he carried her from me, of my offices. The DUCHESS OF SOMERSET was made groom of the stole, and had the robes; and MRS. MASHAM had the privy-purse.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, notwithstanding an infinite variety of mortifications, by which it was endeavoured to make him resign his commission, (that there might be a pretence to raise an out-cry against him, as having quitted his QUEEN's and his country's service, meerly because he could not govern in the cabinet, as well as in the field) continued to serve yet another campaign. All his friends here (moved by

a true

a true concern for the publick welfare) pressed him to it, the confederates called him with the utmost importunity, and PRINCE EUGENE intreated him to come with all the earnestness and passion that could be expressed. He went ; but his authority was now diminished, and his forces weaken'd, many of his best regiments being drawn off, some to go moulder away in Spain, and others to be sacrificed in the wild expedition to Quebec. On the other hand the French had regained a spirit by the proceedings of their friends here; and they seemed to think themselves secure now of bringing disgrace upon a general, who had so often humbled *them*, and whose very name had been among them for many years a sound of terror. His masterly conduct, and his surprising success, disappointed the hopes, both of our foreign and domestick enemies. The latter seem'd to repent that they had permitted him to make this campaign; the happy event of which must unavoidably render a peace with France, upon French conditions, the more infamous. Yet a
peace

peace was so necessary to the preservation of the new minister's power, that it must be had at any rate. And in order to it, the confidence of the French KING must be gained. This confidence could never be hoped for, so long as THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH was at the head of the army. And therefore, as all the arts of malice and detraction had proved ineffectual to make him resign his post, it was become necessary to remove him from it. But what plausible pretence to remove so able and so successful a general, while the war was, in appearance, still subsisting? A frivolous and groundless complaint in parliament about certain perquisites he had claimed, as belonging to his station, must serve the turn. The QUEEN, indeed, when he had laid before her what was doing against him by the *commissioners of accounts*, was pleased to say, *she was sure her servants* [her new ministers] *would not encourage such proceedings*. Nevertheless, in a very short time, HER MAJESTY, once more pressed by an irresistible necessity, made use of that very complaint

as a reason for dismissing him from all his employments.

To the QUEEN's letter, importing this dismissal, the DUKE returned the following answer.

MADAM,

I am very sensible of the honour YOUR MAJESTY does me in dismissing me from your service by a letter of your own hand, though I find by it that my enemies have been able to prevail with YOUR MAJESTY to do it in the manner that is most injurious to me. And if their malice and inveteracy against me had not been more powerful with them than the consideration of YOUR MAJESTY's honour and justice, they would not have influenced you to impute the occasion of my dismissal to a false and malicious insinuation contrived by themselves, and made public, when there was no opportunity for me to give in my answer; which, they must needs be conscious would fully detect the falshood and malice of their aspersions,

and

‘ and not leave them that handle for bring-
 ‘ ing YOUR MAJESTY to such extremities
 ‘ against me.

‘ But I am much more concerned at an
 ‘ expression in YOUR MAJESTY’s letter,
 ‘ which seems to complain of the treat-
 ‘ ment you had met with. I know not
 ‘ how to understand that word, nor what
 ‘ construction to make of it. I know I have
 ‘ always endeavoured to serve YOUR MA-
 ‘ JESTY faithfully and zealously, through
 ‘ a great many undeserved mortifications.
 ‘ But if YOUR MAJESTY does intend by that
 ‘ expression to find fault with my not com-
 ‘ ing to the cabinet-council, I am very free
 ‘ to acknowledge that my duty to YOUR
 ‘ MAJESTY and country would not give
 ‘ me leave to join in the counsel of a man,
 ‘ who, in my opinion, puts YOUR MAJESTY
 ‘ upon all manner of extremities. And
 ‘ it is not my opinion only, but the opinion
 ‘ of all mankind, *that the friendship of*
 ‘ *France must needs be destructive to YOUR*
 ‘ *MAJESTY: there being in that court a*
 ‘ *root of enmity irreconcilable to YOUR MA-*
 ‘ *JESTY’s*

• JESTY's government, and the religion of
 • these kingdoms. I wish YOUR MAJESTY
 • may never find the want of so faithful a
 • servant, as I have always endeavoured to
 • approve myself to you. I am with the
 • greatest duty and submission,

• MADAM,

• YOUR MAJESTY'S

• *most dutiful and*

• *obedient subject,*

MARLBOROUGH,

§. III.

THUS, MY LORD, I have given you
 a short history of my favour with
 my royal mistress, from it's earliest rise
 to it's irrecoverable fall. You have seen
 with admiration how *sincere* and how *great*
 an affection a QUEEN was capable of having
 for a *servant who never flattered her*. And
 I doubt not but your friendship made some
 conclusions to *my* advantage, when you
 observed for how many years I was able
 to hold my place in her regard, notwith-
 standing her most real and invariable pas-
 sion for that phantom which she called *the*
church: That *darling phantom* which the
 tories were for ever presenting to her ima-
 gination, and employing as a *will in the*
whisp, to bewilder her mind, and entice her,
 (as she at last unhappily experienced) to the
 destruction of her quiet and her glory.
 But I believe you have thought that the most
 extraordinary thing in the whole fortune of
 my favour, was it's being at last destroyed
 by

by a cause, in appearance so unequal to the effect, I mean MRS. ABIGAIL HILL. For I will venture to affirm, that whatever may have been laid to my charge of ill behaviour to my mistress in the latter years of my service, is all reducible to this one crime, *my inveteracy to poor MASHAM*. I have indeed said, that my constant combating the QUEEN's inclination to the tories did, in the end, prove the ruin of my credit with her; and this is true, in as much as without that, HER MAJESTY could never have been engaged to listen to any insinuations against me. Her passion for the church furnished the sole means by which MRS. MASHAM (the machine in the hands of HARLEY) could take hold of her mind, and bring her by degrees, to look upon that behaviour in me, as rudeness and disrespect, which before had been only sincerity and frankness, and a warmth of zeal for her service. And yet (as you have seen) in that very letter where HER MAJESTY tells me, *I have lost her kindness irrecoverably*, she declares, *that this change is not owing to any fault I have committed.*

mitted. But though the QUEEN, in her highest discontent with me, and after I had been in her service seven and twenty years, had no crime to lay to my charge, except *my malice to poor MASHAM*, yet the ready invention of others, who knew nothing of my conduct, but whose interest it was to decry me, could presently find in it abundant matter for accusation.

The calumnies against me were so gross, and yet so greedily devoured by the credulity of party rage, that I thought it became me to write and publish something in my own justification; and the substance of what I am now going to say, was contained in a sort of memorial, which for that purpose I drew up in 1712. I have already mentioned by what means I was then dissuaded from making it publick, and the reasons that now induce me to pursue that design.

It was spread about in libels, that I had behaved myself unworthily in my offices, and been unfaithful to the trusts reposed in me.

That I had abused my favour with the QUEEN, by obtaining unreasonable and exorbitant grants to myself.

And that, through an insatiable greediness of riches, I had prostituted to sale titles of honour and places of trust.

As to my conduct, with respect to the robes, this one observation is almost sufficient, that all my accounts of the robes, for the whole nine years in which I served the QUEEN in that office, were passed in the Exchequer with the greatest regularity ; and that, in passing them, I produced acquittances for every sum to the value of twenty shillings paid to any tradesmen ; which was such a method of exactness as had never before been used by any master or mistress of the robes.

Upon my bringing in the first account, of this sort, in order to have them passed, it was said, in a report made to the treasury from auditor HARLEY's office, that no such accounts had ever been brought there before. MR. TAYLOR, in the treasury, and all the clerks of that board, made the like

S

observation.

observation. But what is most worthy to be remembered, MR. HARLEY, the same MR. HARLEY, who was afterwards lord treasurer, and who then hired his creatures to misrepresent me, throughout all the nation, as no better than a pickpocket, the same MR. HARLEY, I say, upon occasion of his brother's having made an extract from the accounts, which in former reigns had been given in, of the yearly expences of the robes, wrote me the following letter.

Thursday August 8, 1706.

MADAM,

I missed the opportunity of paying my duty to your grace last time at Windsor, which occasions you the trouble of this letter. My brother, having made a state of your grace's accounts, desired that I would receive your pleasure, when you would permit him to wait upon your grace with it. *I perceive your grace's conduct will shine on all occasions ;* for my brother tells me, that he has
made

' made a collection from all the accounts
 ' which have been brought in for the
 ' robes for 46 years, since the year
 ' 1660, and by that it will appear, upon
 ' the comparifon, how much better (to a
 ' great value) your grace has managed
 ' for the crown. He will have the ho-
 ' nour to present this to your grace when-
 ' ever you please to appoint a time to
 ' receive it, &c. *

A copy of the collection here men-
 tioned, is added at the end of this rela-
 tion, and whoever will be at the pains to
 compare the four laft years in thofe ac-
 counts (when I had the management of
 the robes) with the preceding years in
 the fame accounts, will find, that the
 yearly expence of the robes in all the
 reigns before QUEEN ANNE, is, one year
 with another, above 5040 l. whereas
 the expence of the four firft years of
 her reign, one with another, is not 2900 l.

* The remainder of this letter is in the former
 part of this relation. Page 237.

But because there is a great deal of difference between the expences for the robes of a queen, and the expences for those of a king, it will be more equitable to compare my accounts for the robes of QUEEN ANNE, with those for QUEEN MARY's robes, when under the management of LADY DERBY, of which, for two years, I procured a copy from the office.

It appears that in the *first* of those two years, the expence of QUEEN MARY's robes was greater by a thousand pound, than that of QUEEN ANNE's for *the whole four years* mentioned in auditor HARLEY's collection. For the expence of those *four years* was no more than 11,565 *l.* 7 *s.* 1 *d.* whereas the expence of the *first year only* of QUEEN MARY was 12,604 *l.* 12 *s.* 2 *d.* It appears also that the expence of the robes, in the *second* year of QUEEN MARY, was 11,131 *l.* 9 *s.* 1 *d.* which is not many hundred pounds short of the whole expence of the said *four years* of QUEEN ANNE.

After these four years, the expence of the following five years (which make up
the

the whole time of my service) amounting to 18,972 *l.* 9 *s.* 10 *d.* was more in proportion than that of the said four preceding years. This was chiefly occasioned by the extraordinary expence on account of the mourning for the PRINCE, and the QUEEN's ordering every thing belonging to the robes of what kind soever to be given away, so that at the end of the mourning all were new at once, and amongst them some very rich clothes, which happened just before I left the office. These two articles necessarily made a considerable increase of the ordinary expence, especially as the QUEEN gave 600 *l.* to the maids of honour to buy them mourning. However, the yearly expence of my *nine years*, taken one with another, is very small in comparison of the *two years* before mentioned, when LADY DERBY managed QUEEN MARY's robes. For the sum total paid by the Exchequer on account of the robes in my nine years, amounts only to 32,050 *l.* 1 *s.* 3 *d.* as will appear to any one who will take the trouble to look into the Exchequer

rolls, and if I paid more it must have been out of my own pocket, an indiscretion of which no body has suspected me. If from this sum of 32,050*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* be deducted, the coronation expence, which was 1512*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* there will remain 30,537*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.* and then the yearly expence of the said nine years, one with another, will be 3393*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. But it is to be observed that in this sum are included the salaries, and many other things relating to the robes; amounting to about 1400*l.* a year, which I always put into my account, (because I thought it the fairest way) but which before my time were put into a separate account, that the account of the robes might appear the less. If therefore you subtract this 1400*l.* from the above sum of 3393*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. the remainder (the yearly expence of QUEEN ANNE'S robes in my nine years) is only 1993*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$, which is less than the yearly expence of QUEEN MARY'S robes, (according to LADY DERBY'S accounts hereto annexed) by the yearly sum of 9874*l.*

18s. 10d. $\frac{1}{4}$. So that it evidently appears that by my œconomy in the nine years I served HER MAJESTY, I saved her near 190,000 l. For I believe it will be granted, that without incurring any censure, I might have swelled the accounts for QUEEN ANNE's robes, to as large a sum as LADY DERBY did for QUEEN MARY's. But to shew how much people were determined to defame me at any rate, and at all adventures, I had the fortune, that while some accused me of being *too profuse* of the QUEEN's money, others censured me as being *too saving* of it, and too hard upon the tradesmen I dealt with. It will not be amiss therefore to give some account of this matter, and of the methods I used to reduce the expences of the robes to so small a sum.

It is very well known, that in the preceding reigns, the tradesmen gave money to serve the crown, which brought in great sums to the masters of the robes, but at the same time obliged the tradesmen to charge extravagant prices for their goods,

goods, a privilege which could hardly be disputed with them, considering the sums they had given for the custom, and the accidents they were then always exposed to by the death of the PRINCE, or the death or removal of the master of the robes. But the tradesmen whom I made use of had nothing of this to plead; they gave no money to serve the crown, nor were put to any expence, not so much as the customary one of poundage; they were paid regularly, ran no manner of hazard, and had no more trouble in serving the QUEEN than in serving a common customer; and therefore I did not think it reasonable that they should be allowed above a shilling or two in the pound extraordinary for their goods. But those who had the honour to see the QUEEN, and to make her clothes, were allowed more than the double of what they had from the first quality. And this was all I thought myself at liberty to do in an office in which I was entirely trusted. My method to prevent all mistakes or abuses, was always to sign the tradesmens

I

bills

bills at the same time that they delivered their goods. They were paid by MRS. THOMAS, a person of whose honesty I had had long experience, and to whom I had given the employment of chief of the robes, making it worth to her between two and three hundred pounds a year, not by a salary, but by old clothes and other little advantages ; and I had a promise from her, never to take money of any of the tradesmen. It is very certain that she was punctual to this promise, and if any of the * tradesmen themselves are still living, they will I am sure bear witness to it.

I come now to my management of the privy-purse, the yearly allowance for which was 20,000*l*. not half the sum allowed in KING WILLIAM's time, and indeed very little, considering how great a charge there was fixed upon it by custom, the QUEEN's

* The principal of them were MR. VERNON, MR. INCHLY, MR. SANDS upon Ludgate-hill, and MR. ALEXANDER in Covent-Garden, all mercers. MRS. DEVET, MRS. TOMBES and MR. BAGSHAW, who kept Indian shops, and MR. ELLIOT (since succeeded by his nephew) a lace-man in the Strand.

bounties,

bounties, play money, healing gold, and charities, besides the many pensions that were paid out of it. The allowance was augmented to 26, 000 *l.* two years before I left the office. But in those two years MRS. MASHAM was become the great dispenser of the QUEEN's money, I only bringing to HER MAJESTY the sums that were called for.

The privy-purse is not subject to any account by law, notwithstanding which I observed the same method with regard to this as with regard to the robes, taking acquittances from all persons to whom I paid any money, and *from the QUEEN herself for all sums paid into her own hands*, as likewise a discharge from HER MAJESTY upon every account given in, which discharge was in these words, *I have examined these accounts, and am satisfied they are right.*

ANNE R.

The money of the privy-purse was paid upon my notes, by MR. COGGS a goldsmith

smith over-against St. Clement's church, whom I strictly charged never to take any poundage, which used constantly to be taken before my time. But I thought it would be as mean as it was inhuman, to deduct from charities, and make advantage of the indigence of others, and therefore I broke that custom. Let any one then judge from the whole, whether I did not put this office into such a method, as rendered it impossible for me to cheat the QUEEN, even supposing I could at any time have been base enough to desire it.

The SECOND charge against me is, that of abusing my favour with the QUEEN, by obtaining unreasonable and exorbitant grants to myself.

I have never been disposed to deny any of the QUEEN's favours to me; I have always remembered them with gratitude and freely spoke of them as there was occasion; and I shall here give a particular account of all the grants and bounties I ever had from her.

I have

I have in the former part of this relation, taken notice of my being appointed one of the ladies of her bed-chamber, at her own request, upon her marriage with the PRINCE OF DENMARK. The salary of this place was 200 l. a year.

I have mentioned also that HER ROYAL HIGHNESS, upon the COUNTESS OF CLARENDON's leaving her to go to Ireland, advanced me to be first lady of the bed-chamber; by which promotion I came to have a yearly salary of 400 l.

I have further related, that the PRINCESS, soon after her obtaining a settlement by parliament of 50,000 l. a year, believing, that she owed the ease and independency of her condition to the zeal, industry, and diligence of MY LORD MARLBOROUGH and myself upon that occasion, was pleased to grant me, of her own motion, an annual pension of 1000 l. And I cannot here entirely pass over the intention, which HER ROYAL HIGHNESS had of giving us another mark of her favour, when MY LORD MARLBOROUGH fell into disgrace with KING WILLIAM. She
would

would have made a new office for him in her court, like that which LORD BERKELEY had in her father's. But as soon as I was apprized of this design, I dissuaded her from it; because I thought it not reasonable on her own account; and besides, as I lived in friendship with SIR BENJAMIN BATHURST, who would have been hurt by the creation of such an office, I thought this a sufficient reason for declining the offer.

A little before the PRINCESS came to the crown, my eldest daughter was to be married to LORD GODOLPHIN's son, on which occasion HER HIGHNESS wrote to me in these terms.

‘ I have a request to make to my dear
 ‘ MRS. FREEMAN. It is, that whenever dear
 ‘ LADY HARIOTTE marries, you would give
 ‘ me leave to give her something to keep
 ‘ me in her thoughts — *and concluded thus,*
 ‘ --- I beg my poor mite may be accepted,
 ‘ being offered from a heart that is with-
 ‘ out any reserve with more passion and
 ‘ sincerity my dear MRS. FREEMAN's, than
 ‘ any other can be capable of. The

The mite which the PRINCESS here speaks of was 10,000 *l.* the whole portion that was to be paid on my daughter's marriage. It had always been the custom for the crown to give portions to the daughters of their favourites, but the PRINCESS having but 50,000 *l.* a year, I thought the offer too large for her income, and would therefore accept no more than the half of it.

The like sum of 5000 *l.* the PRINCESS gave to my second daughter when she was married to LORD SUNDERLAND, adding a promise at the same time to take care of all my children.

I fancy, my lord, if you consider only the almost unparallel'd affection the QUEEN had for me, you will be little surprized, either at these expressions of it, or those which I am going to relate. And you will certainly be much less so, if you can believe the QUEEN herself in a matter, where perhaps it would not become me to expatiate, I mean the proofs I had given her of my affectionate fidelity in her service, and inviolable attachment to her interests and happiness.

ness. It would be as endless as it is needless to transcribe all the letters I have from her to this purpose. A few extracts from some of them will be sufficient.

On occasion of something done for the PRINCE in KING WILLIAM's time, she wrote to me in these terms.

‘ I was going to thank your lord myself
 ‘ for what was done last night concerning
 ‘ the PRINCE's business, it being wholly
 ‘ owing to your and his kindness, or else I
 ‘ am sure it would never have been brought
 ‘ to any effect. But I durst not do it for
 ‘ fear of not being able to express the true
 ‘ sense of my poor heart, and therefore I
 ‘ must desire my dear MRS. FREEMAN to
 ‘ say a great deal both for MR. MORLEY
 ‘ and myself: and though we are poor in
 ‘ words, yet be so just as to believe we are
 ‘ truly sensible, and most faithfully yours.
 ‘ And as for your faithful MORLEY, be as-
 ‘ sured she is more, if it be possible, than
 ‘ ever, her dear dear MRS FREEMAN's.’

In

In another, after complaining to me of being ill served (as indeed she was to a very great degree) she adds, —

‘ Though it will be impossible for me
 ‘ to have every thing done to my mind, un-
 ‘ less I could meet with a MRS. FREEMAN,
 ‘ in every post of my family ; but her fel-
 ‘ low I do really believe is not to be found
 ‘ the world over, and I am sure I never
 ‘ can have any friend that will be so dear
 ‘ to me as she is.’

In another — (I forget upon what oc-
 casion) --- ‘ I give you millions of thanks
 ‘ for all your and MR. FREEMAN’s kindness,
 ‘ which I am more truly sensible of than I
 ‘ can express, and shall never be satisfied
 ‘ with any thing I can either do or say in
 ‘ return; for where one owes so much, one
 ‘ can never get out of debt: but whilst
 ‘ I have life, I will endeavour to shew my
 ‘ dear MRS. FREEMAN, I have a grateful
 ‘ heart that is most passionately and faith-
 ‘ fully at her command.’

When

When HER ROYAL HIGHNESS was pleased to give the 5000 £. I have mentioned on my eldest daughter's marriage, I wrote her a letter full of gratitude and respect. At that time I kept no copies of my letters, having no suspicion that I should ever have occasion for such vouchers, however the PRINCESS's answer will show the tenour of what I wrote, as well as HER HIGHNESS's sentiments in my regard.

My dear MRS. FREEMAN has no reason to be uneasy with the thoughts that she can never do enough to deserve my kindness, for she has done more than ever any mortal did to merit another's friendship. And it is very kind in setting so great a value upon so poor an expression as I have made of my truth, which *upon my word I am not satisfied with, it coming far short of what my heart is inclined to do.* But as long as I live, I must be endeavouring to shew, that never any body had a sincerer passion for another, than I have for dear MRS. FREEMAN.

All these favours I received from the PRINCESS before she came to the crown, soon after which, I had the following letter from her, which as it shews the continuance of her sincere affection for me, will at the same time serve for a voucher *that I did not accept the whole* that was offered for a portion to my eldest daughter.

Friday morning.

‘MY LORD BRIDGEWATER being in haste
 ‘to be married, I cannot any longer defer
 ‘telling my dear MRS. FREEMAN, what I
 ‘have intended a great while, that I hope
 ‘she will now give me leave to do what I
 ‘had a mind to when dear LADY HARIOTTE
 ‘was married, and let me speak to my lord
 ‘treasurer about it when I see him, &c.’

This letter was a kind proof that the QUEEN had not forgot her promise of providing for all my children, which she afterwards fully performed by giving the like portion to my fourth daughter.

I shall

I shall now mention all the grants made to myself during the whole time that I served HER MAJESTY.

The first was the office of ranger of the great and little parks at Windsor. This I esteem'd as a great favour, because the lodge in the great park (the same that MR. MAY enjoy'd many years, and after him the EARL OF PORTLAND) is a very agreeable place to live in; and because HER MAJESTY was pleased to give it me of her own accord, remembering that when we used in former days to ride by it, I had often wish'd for such a place. The lodge in the little park at that time was no better than such as the under-keepers live in, and I gave it to a brother of the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH's, who was so well pleased with the situation, as to lay out five or six thousand pounds upon it; of which the crown will have the advantage after one life, as also of between four and five thousand pounds that I laid out upon the lodge in the great park.

This grant used to be represented to the publick as worth 4000 *l.* a year: but all the

keepers, and many of the inhabitants of Windsor know, that I never made any advantage of it worth mentioning, unless the milk of a few cows and a little firing when I was there may be reckoned such. And how indeed can it be imagined, that any other profits could arise from it (without taking away the very allowances of the keepers) when it is remembered, that to answer the crown warrants, it is necessary to keep up four or five thousand head of deer in the park, for which the allowance was but 500*l.* a year (which however was taken from me some years ago) and that the ranger must be at the expence of making, and sometimes of buying hay for the deer; that the keepers wages were payable out of this allowance, with several other expences which in parks belonging to the crown are much greater than in others? So that the thing had plainly very little to recommend it, besides the pleasantness of the habitation.

The next grant, of which by MY LORD GODOLPHIN's means I obtained the promise from the QUEEN, after the QUEEN dowager's death,

death, was the ground in St. James's-Park upon which my house stands. This has been valued by my enemies at 10,000*l.* how justly let any one determine, who will consider that a certain rent is paid for it to the Exchequer, that the grant was at first but for fifty years, and that the building has cost between forty and fifty thousand pounds, of which the QUEEN never paid one shilling, though many people have been made to believe otherwise.

These were the only grants I ever had from the QUEEN except one, which occasioned the witty comparison that was made between me and the lady's woman, who out of her mistress's pin-money of 26 *l.* put twenty two into her own pocket. The matter was this. At the QUEEN's accession to the government, she used to lament to me, that the crown being impoverished by former grants, she wanted the power her predecessors had enjoyed to reward faithful servants; and she desired me to take out of the privy-purse 2000 *l.* a year, in order to some purchase for my advantage. I made

my grateful acknowledgments to HER MAJESTY, but at the same time said, that as HER MAJESTY was so good to provide for my children, and as the offices I enjoy'd by her favour brought me in more than I wanted, I could not think it reasonable to accept her offer; and I absolutely refused it. The QUEEN some time after, in two several letters, pressed me to receive this bounty, and she frequently did the same by word of mouth. Nevertheless I constantly declin'd it; until the time, that, notwithstanding the uncommon regard I had shown to HER MAJESTY's interest and honour in the execution of my trusts, she was pleased to dismiss me from her service. Then indeed it was thought I had no longer the same reason to be scrupulous on this head. By the advice of my friends, I sent the QUEEN one of her own letters, in which she had pressed me to take the 2000 *l.* a year; and I wrote at the same time to ask HER MAJESTY whether she would allow me to charge in the privy-purse accounts, which I was to send her, that yearly sum from the time

of the offer, amounting to 18,000 *l.* HER MAJESTY was pleased to answer, that I might charge it. This therefore I did, *inserting in my accounts* (which were a kind of *memorial*) these words:

‘ After the PRINCESS came to the crown,
 ‘ she was pleased to write to me to take
 ‘ 2000 *l.* a year out of the privy-purse,
 ‘ and *to make no more words of it*, and lay
 ‘ it up to do something with it; because
 ‘ she added, she had not power to do as
 ‘ others had done before her, to reward
 ‘ faithful services. And I might own or
 ‘ conceal it as I liked best; for she did not
 ‘ care who knew what she gave to one she
 ‘ could never reward enough.’

HER MAJESTY after keeping my accounts a sufficient time to have them carefully examined, (I suppose by MR. HARLEY) return’d them to me sign’d in this manner.

Feb. 1, 17¹⁰.

‘ I have examined these Accounts, and
‘ allow of them,

ANNE R.

If some persons may be inclined to censure my conduct in this particular as too interested, yet every body must, I think, be candid enough to own, that it shewed a consciousness of my integrity in the discharge of my trusts, and that I feared no accusation upon that Head, even from malice in power. Nay I will venture to say, that impartial judges will not think this part of my behaviour liable to any criticism, when they remember and consider, that by my unprecedented fidelity and oeconomy in the discharge of my offices, I saved to HER MAJESTY not only more than the sum in question, but more than the whole value of all the gratuities I ever had from her. For besides the bounties I have already mentioned, the QUEEN after her coming to the crown, never made me the present of a diamond,

mond, or of any thing worth taking notice of, during the whole time that I was in her favour.

As to my offices under the QUEEN they were indeed considerable, and I have ever acknowledged them to be so, amounting to 5600 *l.* a year, deducting only for taxes and fees. But it is to be remembered, that they were only the same employments that I had executed when she was PRINCESS at the salary of 400 *l.* a year; and it was therefore nothing extraordinary that she should continue me in them when she came to be QUEEN. And in what manner I discharged these offices, I have already related.

I come now to the THIRD article of accusation against me, *That I prostituted to sale titles of honour and places of trust.*

As for *titles of honour*, I never was concerned in making any peer but one, and that was MY LORD HERVEY the present EARL OF BRISTOL. I had made a promise to SIR THOMAS FELTON, when the QUEEN came first to the crown, that if HER MAJESTY should ever make any new lords, I would
certainly

certainly use my interest that MR. HERVEY might be one. And accordingly, though I was retired into the country under the most sensible affliction for the death of my only son, yet when the QUEEN had resolved to create four peers, GRANVILLE, GUERNSEY, GOWER and CONWAY, I had such a regard to my word, that I wrote to LORD MARLBOROUGH and LORD GODOLPHIN, that if they did not endeavour to get MR. HERVEY made a peer, I neither would nor could shew my face any more. The thing was done purely at my request, and at a time when affairs at court ran so violently against the whole party of whigs, that MR. HERVEY had laid aside all hopes of the peerage, and was therefore surprized to the last degree, when a message came to him from the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, that he must come on such a day by the back-stairs, to kiss the QUEEN's hand for being made a peer. On this occasion MY LADY HERVEY wrote to me in the following terms.

March

March 14, 1702.

‘ MADAM,

‘ MR. HERVEY and myself have both so
 ‘ long and justly sacrificed the satisfaction of
 ‘ our own, to the ease and quiet of your
 ‘ grace’s mind, that could you know what
 ‘ incessant importunities we have resisted
 ‘ from the one, you would the easilier for-
 ‘ give the unseasonable interruptions we fear
 ‘ this must at last prove to the other ; but
 ‘ the sense of our obligations to your grace
 ‘ calls too clamorously upon us to be any
 ‘ farther withstood, and therefore we rather
 ‘ venture this intrusion upon your solitude,
 ‘ than to be longer silent upon a subject,
 ‘ which requires the earliest endeavours af-
 ‘ ter all returns that can be made your
 ‘ grace by us for it. I know nothing we
 ‘ have so much at heart (unless it be the
 ‘ due sympathy we feel of your grace’s
 ‘ present condition) as how we may in some
 ‘ sort deserve the great honour HER MAJES-
 ‘ TY has been so graciously pleased to bestow
 ‘ on us and our family, by your grace’s
 ‘ kind

' kind mediation, and how we may ever
 ' acquit ourselves of so generous a piece of
 ' friendship towards your grace, which I am
 ' very sure we both think the future study
 ' of our lives can never enough compensate,
 ' unless your grace's usual goodness will ac-
 ' cept of the most zealous and grateful
 ' wills for payment, and then we conclude
 ' the chief of those very many, whom you
 ' have bound to be your grace's well wishers
 ' must remain, as much if not more in-
 ' debted to you than I know MR. HERVEY
 ' (so qualified) to be as well as,

' MADAM,

' *Your grace's most obliged,*

' *and faithful humble servant,*

' E. HERVEY.'

This letter would alone be a sufficient
 proof, that the service I then did was not the
 purchase of money; but MY LORD BRISTOL
 is still living, who will vouch for the truth of
 this account.

Certain

Certain it is, that I might have made considerable profit by this sort of traffic, could I have thought it consistent with justice and honour. I was offered 6000 *l.* to get MR. COKE of Norfolk made a peer. And how easy and inoffensive a thing would this have been at that time? For he was a gentleman of an estate equal to the title desired, and was grandson to the DUKE OF LEEDS, and in that interest which then carried all before it at court. The answer I gave to the proposal was to this effect:

That I thought HER MAJESTY, the fountain of honour, should never bestow it but upon true merit, and as an encouragement to such persons as were considerable enough to be useful to their PRINCE; and that the granting the peerage upon such generous conditions, was the most likely way to *oblige* those she honoured with it, and strongly engage them to her service; to which they would look upon themselves as but little bound on account of their titles, if these were the purchase of their own money.

And

And as I was never carried by avarice to concern myself in procuring titles of honour for others, so I shall take occasion to observe here, that ambition had no share in procuring that new title, which, by HER MAJESTY'S favour to MY LORD MARLBOROUGH, I myself acquired. The following letters will be some proof of it. The first is from MY LORD GODOLPHIN.

Thursday night, Oct. 22.

—‘ By the enclosed address from the
‘ house of lords, which is to be presented
‘ to the QUEEN to-morrow, you will see
‘ they take notice very thankfully of the be-
‘ nefits they receive from HER MAJESTY’S
‘ protection, and mention her good successes
‘ with better grace for her, in my opinion,
‘ than if she had done it herself.

‘ I shall send a copy of this address to-
‘ morrow by the post to MY LORD MARL-
‘ BOROUGH, because I believe it will be a
‘ satisfaction to him. I am apt to think
‘ MRS. MORLEY may say something to you
‘ upon this subject, which perhaps you may
‘ not

‘ not like, but I think it must be endured
 ‘ upon such an occasion, when it is visible
 ‘ to all the world, that it is not done upon
 ‘ your own account.’——

My lord had rightly conjectured ; for I
 received a letter of the same date with his,
 from the QUEEN, upon the same subject.

St. James's, thursday 22 October.

‘ I have had this evening the satisfaction
 ‘ of my dear MRS. FREEMAN's of yesterday,
 ‘ for which I give you many thanks, and
 ‘ though I think it a long time since I saw
 ‘ you, I do not desire you to come one
 ‘ minute sooner to town than it is easy to
 ‘ you, but will wait with patience for the
 ‘ happy hour, and only beg when you do
 ‘ come you would send for a coach, and
 ‘ not make use of a chaise. Lord treasurer
 ‘ intends to send you a copy of the address
 ‘ from the house of lords, which is to be
 ‘ given me to-morrow, and that gives me
 ‘ an opportunity of mentioning a thing to
 ‘ you, that I did not intend to do yet. It
 ‘ is

' is very uneasy to your poor, unfortunate,
 ' faithful MORLEY to think she has so very
 ' little in her power to show how truly sen-
 ' sible I am of all MY LORD MARLBOROUGH'S
 ' kindness, especially at a time when he de-
 ' serves all that a rich crown could give.
 ' But since there is nothing else at this time,
 ' I hope you will give me leave, as soon as
 ' he comes, to make him a duke. I know
 ' my dear MRS. FREEMAN does not care
 ' for any thing of that kind, nor I am not
 ' satisfied with it, because it does not e-
 ' nough express the value I have for MR.
 ' FREEMAN, nor nothing ever can how
 ' passionately I am yours, my dear MRS.
 ' FREEMAN.'

The other letter from MY LORD GODOL-
 PHIN, as far as it relates to this affair, is in
 these terms.

Saturday night.

' I give you many thanks for the favour
 ' of your letter, which I received this even-
 ' ing. I did easily believe MRS. MORLEY'S
 ' letter would make you uneasy, but having
 ' her

‘ her commands not to speak of it, I durst
 ‘ not say any more, than just to prepare you
 ‘ to submit to what I found by her she
 ‘ was convinced was necessary for the satis-
 ‘ faction of the publick. I have waited up-
 ‘ on her this evening to let her see how
 ‘ truly uneasy you were, and have begged
 ‘ of her, when she sees you, nor to part till
 ‘ she has made you easy again, either by
 ‘ your submitting to please her, or by her
 ‘ condescending to cure your apprehensions.’

As these letters from MY LORD GODOLPHIN
 were written at a time when there could
 not be even the remotest view of making
 them publick, they shew that in his opi-
 nion, at least, I was not ambitious of a higher
 title, which indeed I considered as what would
 serve only to provoke malice, without giving
 me the least degree of pleasure.

AS to *selling places*, which was the last
 thing I was to clear myself from, I shall
 now give an account of my conduct with
 respect to this charge, from the time that
 I came first into any office at court.

A little before I succeeded LADY CLARENDON in the post of first lady of the bedchamber to the PRINCESS OF DENMARK, HER HIGHNESS wrote to me, that she intended to take two new pages of the back-stairs, but that she would not do it till MY LADY CLARENDON was gone, that I might have the advantage of putting them in, meaning, that I might have the advantage of selling those two places. For it must be remark'd, that at that time no person who was in any office at court, with places in his disposal, made any more scruple of selling them, than of receiving his settled salary, or the rents of his estate. It is no great wonder therefore, that being a young courtier, and not very rich, and having such an express direction from my mistress, I followed the prevailing custom, and sold those two places. Yet it was not long before I began to condemn in my own mind this practice. There was something I thought that felt wrong in the selling of employments, and from this thought I came presently

sently to a resolution, never more to make any advantage to myself by such means. And when, some time after, the PRINCESS thought proper to part with her Roman catholick servants, three in number, of whom two were pages of the back-stairs, and of which two one had bought his place of me at the time before mentioned, and paid 400 *l.* for it, I gave him back the whole sum; and I gave the like sum to the other Roman catholick page, though he had risen to this employment from being footman, and without money. Nay, I procured for this man, (whose name was GUYN) the continuation of his salary for life, which I mention, only that I may speak of his uncommon gratitude: For during five and twenty years afterwards, I did not set out upon a journey from London, without finding him at my coach side full of his good wishes for my health and happiness.

The first vacancy that happened under the PRINCE (whose confidence in me was equal to that of the PRINCESS) was of the

place of groom of the bedchamber. This I procur'd for MR. MAUL, who knowing what was usual in such cases, sent a message to me, desiring leave to make me a present; to which I immediately return'd answer, that I was resolv'd against every thing of that kind.

Another place that became vacant under the PRINCE was that of groom of the stole, which being given to MY LORD DELAWAR, he brought a present of 500*l.* to MR. GUIDOT, for me; but MR. GUIDOT, who knew my dislike of such practices, quickly satisfied him that I would not accept of it. I had afterwards many letters from his lordship, and some but a little before my leaving the court, full of the greatest acknowledgments; and to him I always appeal'd for the truth of this fact.

I also refus'd a present from MY LORD LEXINGTON, who employ'd MR. SCARBOROUGH, to make me the offer, when his lordship was desirous to be master of the horse to the PRINCE.

When

When the QUEEN came to the crown, I had every day much greater opportunities than before, of making advantage of her favour, but I invariably adhered to the resolution I had taken: And I doubt not but every candid person will be perfectly convinced of this, when I have finished what I have to say upon the subject.

Had I been disposed to heap up money by the sale of employments, I should certainly not have neglected to sell those, which by virtue of my offices were in my own disposal. I might have done it with the greatest ease; and custom had given me a sort of right to do it: But I could never think of selling my own favour, any more than that of my royal mistress.

The first places, which I had to dispose of, were those of the three pages of the back-stairs; places so considerable, that several grooms of the stole were credibly said to have sold them for a thousand guineas each. But these I gave freely to MR. KIRK, MR. SAXTON, and MR. SMITH, and purely

at

at the request of three ladies, the LADY CHARLOTTE BEVERWAERT, the LADY FITZHARDING, and the COUNTESS OF PLYMOUTH.

The other places in my disposal were in the office of the robes——waiters, coffer-bearers, groom of the wardrobe, chief of the robes, starcher, sempstress.

Were the persons I have named above, and those to whom I gave these last mentioned employments, all, or most of them now living, as they were in 1712, when this account was first drawn up, their testimony (to which I had there appeal'd) would have amounted to a *positive* proof of my integrity and disinterestedness on these occasions. But as this kind of proof cannot now be had, so neither is it wanted, there being still a *negative one*, which, I am persuaded, must appear no less strong and irresistible. And it is this.

My enemies at a time, when they had all the power in their hands, when they had raised such a spirit of virulence and malice

lice as would make any thing to my prejudice readily believed, when they both could and would have amply rewarded any person, that was capable of proving the base practices they charged me with, even *then* I say, all their accusations were general; they were never able to fix upon me any one particular action, either unjust, mercenary, or even ungenerous in the use I made of my royal mistress's favour, or in the management of my own great offices. Nay, they never pretended to name or to appeal to any one person for a proof of what they laid to my charge.

But, my lord, all I have hitherto said on this article of accusation, is to satisfy those, who are not acquainted with me. Those who are, will, I am persuaded, believe me, upon my *word*, when I affirm, as I here solemnly do, that (excepting the pages money above-mention'd) *I never received the value of one shilling in money or jewels, or in any other form, either directly or indirectly, by myself, or by any other person, for procuring*

procuring any place or preferment, or any title of honour, or any employment in my own disposal, or, in a word, for doing any favour during my whole life.

I am,

20 Jan.

174 $\frac{1}{2}$.

MY LORD, &c.

An ACCOUNT of the State of the Disbursements
and Allowances in the Office of the Robes, within the
Times hereafter mentioned.

Collected by Mr. Auditor *Harley*.

Masters of the Robes.	From	l.	s.	d.
Earl of Ogle.	{ May the 29th 1660, to March 25th 1662 }	1683	10	1
L. Hyde, Esq; L.E. of Rochester.	{ March 25 1662, to March 25 1663 }	6781	15	6
L.E. of Rochester.	March 25 1663, to March 24 1664	6968	4	10
	March 25 1664, to March 24 1665	6982	16	8
	March 25 1665, to March 24 1666	6085	1	0
	March 25 1666, to Sept. 29 1668	5158	10	8
	Sept. 29 1668, to Sept. 29 1669	5480	16	2
	Sept. 29 1669, to Sept. 29 1670	4518	7	11
	Sept. 29 1670, to Michaelmas 1671	6723	3	0
	Michael. 1671, to Michael 1672	5861	6	11
	Michael. 1672, to Michael. 1673	5617	14	4
	Michael. 1673, to Michael. 1674	5407	13	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Michael. 1674, to Michael. 1675	4283	8	11
	Michael. 1675, to Michael. 1676	4572	16	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Michael. 1676, to Michael. 1677	5427	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Michael. 1677, to Lady-day 1678	2508	1	6
H. Sydney, Esq;	Lady-day 1678, to Lady-day 1680	3832	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Lady-day 1680, to Lady day 1681	4305	19	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Lady-day 1681, to Lady-day 1682	8028	17	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
E. of Rochefort.	Feb. the 13th 1683, to Feb. 13 1689	4473	4	4
	Expence for the Coronation	2627	19	1
	Feb. the 13th 1689, to Feb. 13 1690	4206	1	8
	Feb. 13 1690, to Feb. 13 1691	4525	6	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Feb. 13 1691, to Feb. 13 1692	4100	13	2
	Feb. 13 1692, to Feb. 13 1693	4369	7	5
	Feb. 13 1693, to May 5 1695	5545	18	2
E. of Albemarle.	May 5 1695, to May 4 1696	3513	7	9
	May 4 1696, to May 4 1697	5111	5	6
	May 4 1697, to May 4 1698	3120	19	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	May 4 1698, to May 4 1699	5733	10	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Her Grace the Duchess of Marbrough.	{ March 8 1701, to Lady-day 1703 }	3950	16	7
	Lady-day 1703, to Lady-day 1704	3156	3	8
	Lady-day 1704, to Lady-day 1706	4458	6	10

X

A. Par-

A Particular of Bills attested by the Right Honourable *Elizabeth*, Countess of *Derby*, Lady of her Majesty's Robes, and paid, viz.

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Aug. 21, 1689.	To <i>Sarah Browne</i>	7	10	0
Sept. 4.	To <i>Dan. Browne</i>	2103	10	0
16.	To <i>Jane Harrifon</i>	27	14	0
	To <i>Stephen Hugueny</i>	15	0	0
Jan. 3.	To <i>Nath. James</i>	4	0	0
	To <i>Richard Brown</i>	13	10	0
4.	To <i>Sir Francis Childe</i>	1400	0	0
23.	To <i>Mary Bampton</i>	1697	14	9
	To <i>Stephen Hugueny</i>	9	0	0
	To <i>Richard Howse</i>	33	10	0
	To <i>Thomas Alkborn</i>	479	17	6
	To <i>Robert Blake</i>	84	0	0
	To <i>Ellis Cryer</i>	13	19	6
	To <i>Gerrard Smale</i>	74	5	0
	To <i>Catharine Mulys</i>	34	7	6
	To <i>Matthew Reynolds</i>	100	0	0
	To <i>Mary Ferguson</i>	385	1	6
	To <i>Serena Cozens</i>	14	19	6
	To <i>Peter Lombard</i>	44	15	0
	To <i>Henry Robins</i>	40	17	2
	To <i>William Garraway</i>	62	7	0
	To <i>Edward Vickers</i>	7	13	2
	To <i>Francis Kinsman</i>	104	7	0
	To <i>Thomas Tempion</i>	213	18	6
	To <i>Eliz. Graydon</i>	90	14	8
	To <i>Henry Cope</i>	571	17	7
	To <i>Jane Harrifon</i>	15	1	0
	To <i>Richard Beavoir</i>	2156	13	0
	To <i>Richard Cooper</i>	584	2	4

Carried over 10390 5 8

Brought

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	Brought over	10390	5	8
1689.	To Philip La Sage	32	15	0
	To Solomon de Medina	130	17	0
	To Godfrey Poole	6	16	6
	To Gilbert Kirk	86	5	3
	To Eliz. Perrier	122	0	0
	To Thomas Morton	1244	14	11
Jul. 17. 1690.	To Sarah Brown	30	0	0
	To Mary Ferguson	148	0	0
	To Marg. Wood	6	0	0
25.	To Eliz. Worthington	7	10	0
	To Nicholas Alexander	25	6	10
	To James Chase	5	0	0
	To Aaron Dally	134	13	6
August 25.	To Mary Ferguson	104	17	6
29.	To Eliz. Worthington	58	10	0
	To Matth. Reynolds	71	0	0
		12604	12	2

A Particular of Bills attested by the Countess
of Derby, and paid, viz. 1690.

October 24.	To Anne Dewhurst	13	16	0
Dec. 27.	To Peter Harashe	394	10	10
	To Mary Devet	102	14	6
Jan. 23.	To Richard Beauvoir	2067	6	7
Mar. 23.	To the Countess of Derby	64	10	0
	To William Tuer	40	18	6
24.	To Edward Vickars	23	6	8
	To Mary Ferguson	160	0	0
1691. 26.	To Sarah Browne	20	0	0
31.	To Eliz. Worthington	107	5	0
	To Christopher Spicer	50	9	3
	To Anne Dewhurst	13	0	0
	To Stephen Hugueny	15	0	0
	To Mr. Corns	17	4	0
	To Mr. Schent	112	0	0

Carried over 3202 1 4

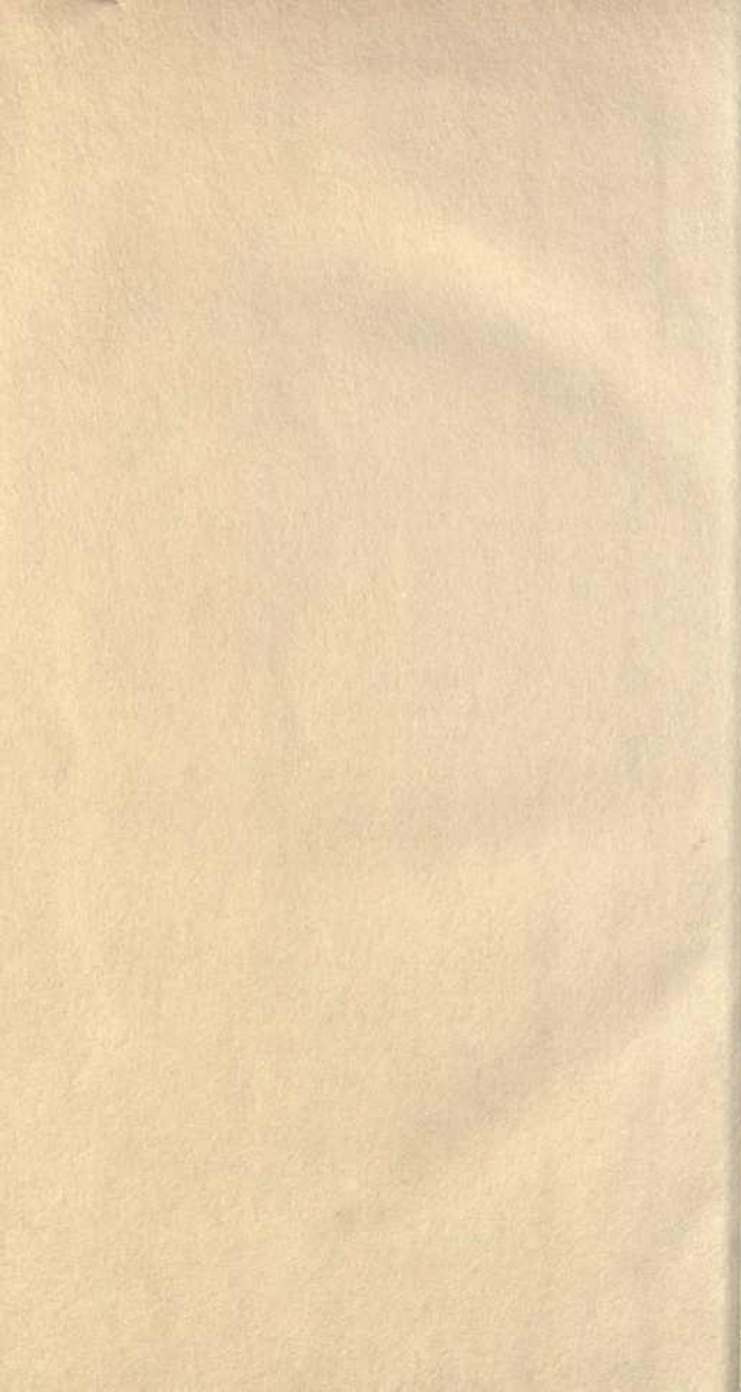
To

	Brought over	3202	1	4
	To John Bishop	83	0	0
	To Robert Blake	92	15	0
	To Robert Roads	22	4	0
	To Jos. Coles	42	0	0
	To Matth. Reynolds	67	10	0
April 2.	To Mary Ferguson	389	6	6
21.	To William Garraway	13	19	0
	To Gilb. Kirk	120	5	0
June 28.	To Eliz. du Perrier	250	0	0
August 15.	To Anne Vander Hoeven	221	19	0
Septemb. 2.	To Mary Ferguson	89	0	0
	To Sarah Browne	30	0	0
October 6.	To Mr. Tho. Morton	248	0	0
	To Thomas Alchorne	1008	0	0
	To John Prince	203	11	0
	To John Prince	352	0	0
	To Ditto	296	6	0
	To Godfrey Poole	124	18	0
	To Mary Bampton	853	9	5
	To George Hanbury	157	6	10
	To Ditto	58	0	0
	To Gerrard Smale	137	12	0
	To Jos. Coles	25	10	0
	To Tho. Cherret.	1,275	0	0
	To Solomon Medina	244	13	0
	To Tho. Herbert	172	10	0
	To Richard Cooper	692	0	0
	To Ellen Becker	149	6	0
	To Stephen Hugueny	15	18	0
	To Matthew Talbot	20	10	0
	To Henry Senthouse	69	15	0
	To William Garraway	106	14	0
	To John Deacle	90	0	0
	To Henry Robins	10	10	0
	To Aaron Dally	112	0	0
	To Matthew Reynolds	84	0	0
		11,131	9	1

	Received over	200	1	24
	To John Smith	25	0	0
	To Robert Clark	62	15	0
	To Peter Smith	34	4	0
	To John Doe	42	0	0
	To Mary Brown	47	10	0
April 8	To Mary Brown	112	6	0
May 21	To William Greenway	17	19	0
	To John Doe	140	5	0
June 25	To Elizabeth Parker	230	0	0
August 12	To John Under Martin	11	19	0
September 1	To Mary Ferguson	33	0	0
	To Sarah Brown	30	0	0
October 6	To Mr. John Johnson	215	0	0
	To Thomas Roberts	1008	0	0
	To John Prince	203	11	0
	To John Prince	251	0	0
	To John Doe	296	6	0
	To George Cook	124	18	0
	To Mary Sampson	253	9	5
	To George Hamblin	157	0	10
	To John Doe	48	0	0
	To General Smith	227	18	0
	To John Doe	25	10	0
	To John Doe	1,275	0	0
	To Solomon Adams	224	13	0
	To John Doe	104	10	0
	To Richard Cooper	671	0	0
	To John Rucker	249	6	0
	To Stephen Hargrave	16	15	0
	To Matthew Waller	22	10	0
	To Henry Goodrich	1	15	0
	To William Garrison	100	14	0
	To John Doe	30	0	0
	To Henry Doe	12	10	0
	To John Doe	117	0	0
	To John Doe	2742	5	0

2742 5 0

10,121 3 1



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES
THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below

MAR 16 1981 DISCHARGE-URL

APR 16 1946

APR 1 1981

MAR 3 1949

APR 19 1950

MAR 21 1952

DISCHARGE-URL
URL NOV 5 1981
NOV 20 1981

MAR 26 1954
NOV 14 1958

REC'D URL
URL JAN 11 1968

APR 19 1993

JAN 11 1968

MAR 21 1993

APR 19 1969
REC'D URL

APR 3 1969

REC'D URL
MAY 30 1980
JUN 2 1980

Form L-9
20m-1, 42 (5519)

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT
LOS ANGELES
LIBRARY

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



A 000 000 807 8

FLF

University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1388
Return this material to the library
from which it was borrowed.

Uni
S